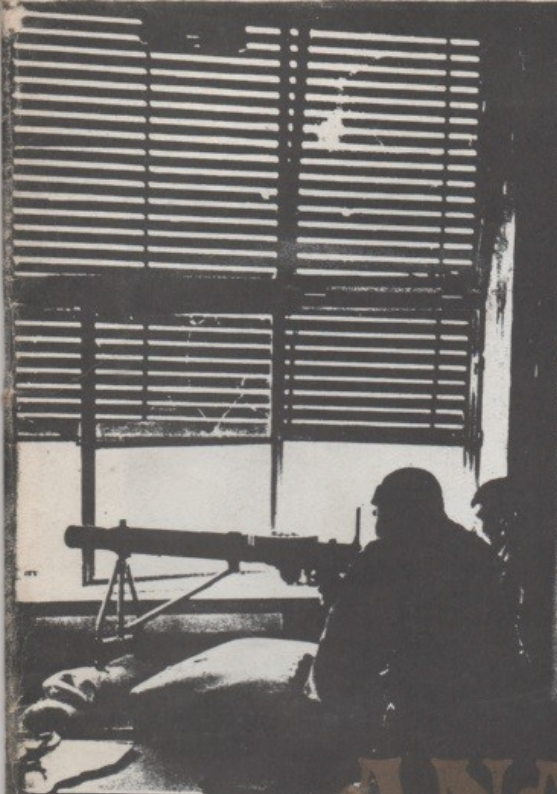


SPECIAL ANTI-SEMITIC ISSUE



MILITIA OF ONE OF THE GOVERNMENT GARRISONS
AT THEIR MEAL BESIDE THEIR MACHINE-GUN.

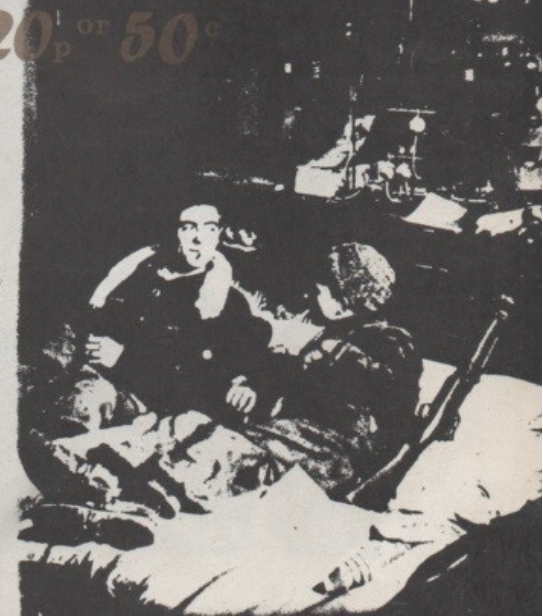
ANARCHY

A LEWIS GUN AND CREW

20¢ or 50¢



A MACHINE-GUNNER WITH ANOTHER TYPE OF WEAPON AND
SCREENED BY BOOKS AND A MATTRESS.



MILITIAMEN BILLETED IN A SCIENCE LABORATORY

WOMEN AND CHILDREN FIRST.
Some Great British Traditions.

The British army likes taking on a couple of kids, three foot tall. In general all arms of the state-police, army, social security, tax inspector will take on and persecute those they consider weak rather than those they think might have some power or influence.

Even when they attack the smallest of us they sometimes find that too much for them.



They are not afraid of attacking full grown people when the circumstances are right - i.e. when the people are unarmed, and the troops have automatic weapons; when the attack is made by surprise and there are armoured vehicles to retreat into.

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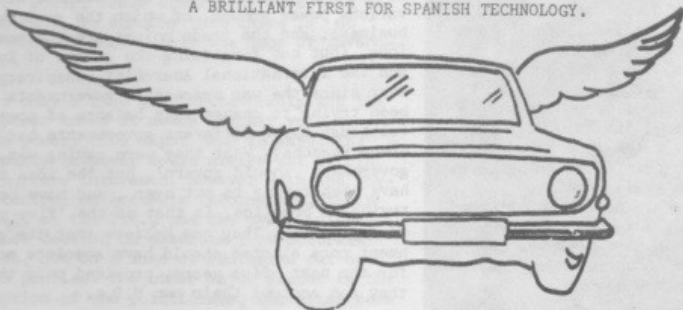
ANARCHY

Nº 12

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A BRILLIANT FIRST FOR SPANISH TECHNOLOGY.



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POWER

Some weeks ago I couldn't help getting the idea that over the last twenty years all our governments have been fostering a shift in industry to use oil rather than coal. This would lead to the conclusion that the English ruling class prefer to be dependent on oil owning sheiks, and the big international oil companys, both class allies, rather than be dependent on English working class miners.

However nicely that may fit in with my prejudices, I don't think it's the whole story. Note: In what follows I'm guessing and sticking my neck out, for there is not the evidence to support all this, but -

The miners are one of the strongest and best organised unions in Europe. They have the numbers, the traditions, they're more of an industrial union, rather than a trades union. They pose a threat to both the owners and the rulers, the bourgeoisie and the government.

Initially there was a movement towards using oil instead of coal based on two things; oil was cheap, and by running down the pits, the power of the miners was decreased. Then there came the hope of oil and gas from the North Sea. A prayer answered? With oil from the North Sea, we need no longer depend on coal, but not at the price of being dependent on oil from the Middle East - or any other country. But they were not going to get much oil until the late 1970's, what until then? How much harm is it going to do to start changing over to gas and oil now, taking advantage of its cheap price, and at the same time breaking free of any threats from the miners? I seriously reckon that this was the basic thinking behind the Labour and Tory governments in the '60s. There may have been other factors which I do not know about which entered into their thinking, who knows? Who cares?

So the basic picture comes down to a running down of coal mining, and an increasing dependence on oil. The oil was cheap, much cheaper than coal, and although imported at that moment, this was only a temporary situation while the North Sea was developed, and by 1980 they were possibly expecting all their problems solved.



The major conflict taking place at the moment is between the miners and the government. The miners have taken the same shit from the government that the rest of us have had, add to which, ever since the war they have had promises promises, which they are getting again today - accept what's offered now, and we will look at the situation so that at some time in the distant future you will get decent pay and as good working conditions as possible (or at least better than now). Not being a miner I don't want to argue their case when you should have heard it from them, so I won't.

I want to point out certain tendencies of our beloved government instead. This country has in the past been 'ruled' by a balance between various power groups, of which the government, business, and the trade unions are the most obvious, (but not forgetting the gnomes of Zurich and the International Anarchist Conspiracy). Ever since the war successive governments have been trying to change this balance of power (although maybe different governments had different reasons). What they were saying was, 'the government should govern', but the idea they have been trying to put over, and have been trying to practice, is that of the 'five year dictatorship'. They now believe that the government once elected should have absolute power for the next five years, provided only that they can control their own M.P.s.

The idea of any sort of limit upon government power, and on any sort of balance of forces, is gone. Clearly the Industrial Relations Act, the repeated States of Emergency are examples of this, but the clearest example is surely the Northern Ireland Act 1972, which became law on February 24th, having been introduced on the 23rd. This act was introduced at such short notice because it became clear that

morning that a lot of the army's activities in Northern Ireland were illegal, particularly their right to stop and search people and vehicles. This bill not only declared their actions in the future legal, but also declared their past illegal actions legal, and opposition to their illegal, now legal, actions, illegal. This is the rewriting of history, as per 1984.

Retroactive legislation like this is a clear statement that the government sees itself completely above the law. Should they have any difficulty with the law they change it, should they act illegally today they make an order tomorrow declaring the previous day's crime to be 'preservation of law and order'.

This changing attitude of government has led to conflict with certain unions, but it has also led to conflict with business - nay, it puts the government in conflict with the whole of society, in one way or another. It further widens the division within the 'ruling class', the owners and managers of industry and robbery - sorry no, I mean 'commerce' and the rulers, government. People have seen and recognised this tendency within the labour party. The labour party in power does not see its interests as being those of the labour movement, it sees its interests as being those of the party and the government. Similarly, the Tories in power do not see themselves there to serve the owners, they see themselves there to govern, to serve their own interests. Of course there are still M.P.s who are members of various Trades Unions, others who are still directors of companies. This does not stop these members putting their interests as members of the government before their other interests. When not in power, these other interests tend to become dominant, to balance them there is no longer government power, only the hope of government power.

It's only a five year dictatorship and the party in power knows it needs another vote to keep it in power, this might lead to expecting that the party in power would always act within their supporters interests. However with the governments control on accurate information, their stranglehold on the T.V., and the press, elections are not decided on assessment of accurate information, but on a load of fantasies put out by all the parties. The other major factor is the self deception of the politicians, who often seem to believe that the interests of the government are also the interests of the country, and when the government act in their own egocentric way they seem to think people will admire and support them for it.

The struggles which will be mentioned in the history books, and which are covered by the news are the miners and the railmen against the government. The outcome of the present crisis

depends on everybody, not those groups mentioned in the news. They are not fought out in political arenas removed from our everyday lives, but take place everyday in our own homes, our own streets, schools, workplaces and backyards. It is easier to understand the spectacular struggle when you walk out on strike, it is harder to understand and continue the everyday struggle of your day-to-day life that takes place all the time - home, workshop, school, in the street and pub.

For most of us the struggle is not at the spectacular stage. We are still living our life of boredom. What are we trying to do at the moment? Before people working together ever go out together on strike a lot has to happen. Mainly it is a process of communication and building up of trust. A group of strangers put together will not act together, and the main process is one in which a group of individuals begin to identify with each other, at work this is against the boss. Today many of us get this 'class consciousness' put to us when we are kids. Unfortunately many of us do not recognise this process, and under the influence of that bourgeois intellectual Marx, and his henchmen this process has been mainly applied to straight work situations.



Lets digress. A large section of the left

look at the power of organised workers, and because it is easy to see and understand, they believe that it is the major power that ordinary people have, the power that should be developed, and if you are not part of it, too bad. Thus most women who are not 'straight workers' as the left see it do not have any power, and the major role that they can play is as passive supporters of the workers. This whole idea is in error, and it is also harmful to revolution and worst of all divisive, breaking down solidarity and identification, and setting one person against another.

At the moment struggles at work might appear to be the most important and the most hopeful of producing change, but then for many years this is the area which the left has been concentrating on.

Alongside this concentration upon industry there has been a neglect of the community. Not just a passive neglect, but an ideological assault upon any ideas that the community might be as powerful as, or even more powerful than, industry.

Firstly, look at the signs. Taking an extreme example, that of Ulster, we see that struggles are not defined in terms of industries, but by communities, (with the exception of Harland and Wolfe). Geographical areas, such as Clydeside, Moss side and the East End and South Bank of London, as well as industries, have reputations for militancy. Moreover, if you pick out the most militant workers you often notice that they tend not only to work together but to live in the same community.

All struggles are interrelated and no group of people exists as an island. Thus the income and security of the employed depends on the income and security of the unemployed, and vice versa. The success of a strike depends on, among other things, the availability of people willing to act as blacklegs, support for pickets from the rest of the community, and the readiness of thugs or police to attack the pickets and troops to forcibly destroy the power of the strikers.

One of the results of this pernicious ideology is the lack of community development.

Hence we have allowed the community to be weakened or destroyed. Yet part of the strength of the miners lies in that they live together as well as work together.

Another result and perhaps the most harmful, is the way in which it divides us, and creates a new elite. Especially it divides men and women, but also employed and unemployed, and even workers with strong organisations and those with weaker ones. It divides people who are working in one way from people who are working in another, and makes them enemies instead of comrades.

So, what to do?

The above ridiculous diversion has been followed to try to begin to explain the ideas behind my answer to this, mainly because the answer seems too mundane to be taken seriously without a bit of window dressing and academic shit.

Perhaps the first thing to do is to make friends, and to find out who our friends are. Many comrades will no doubt think first of finding other anarchists to talk to - but talking to the other people in the street and at work is much more important - unless you're a cloak and dagger anarchist, who can't actually tell people what you believe in, in case they disprove, or the boss finds out.

If we try not to see ourselves as 'special' with 'special' ideas, but as ordinary people with ordinary, but different, ideas, we may find ourselves part of everyday struggles, instead of being external and to many people manipulating. Everyone has different ideas - anarchy's about how people with different ideas can work together.

And what about our own lives?

If you're working a 3 day week, what about sharing the other work that goes on all the same - the shopping, washing, cooking and the childcare.

What happens when the crisis is over?

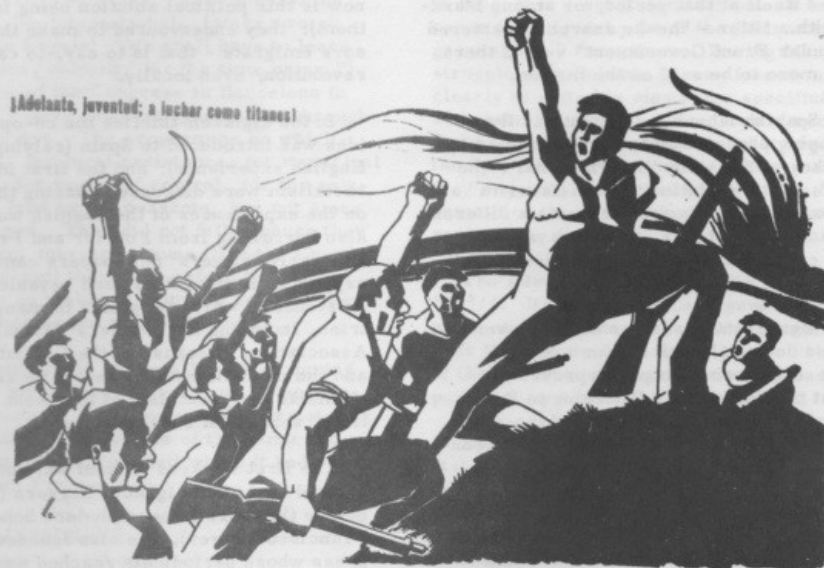
Will we all go back to our old relationships; dominating and dominated, passive, alienated and silent. Or having transformed the way we talk to and relate to people, will we refuse to sink back into traditional bourgeois roles and go on to build the revolution in our everyday lives.

C.P.

FIGHT FOUL



LIFE IS REAL



Libertarian Youth will continue the struggle for the Workers' Revolution!

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN SPAIN

ON THE WHOLE there has been little or no study of the Spanish labour movement. The success of the insurrection against Tsarism so captivated the imagination of the world that attention, from the point of view of revolutionary socialism, has thereafter been riveted on Russia and what concerns its interests. The State "Socialism" that triumphed in that country is no doubt worth studying, if not experiencing; but from the standpoint of any sincere revolutionary - even one who might not consider himself a libertarian - it is surely more richly rewarding to look at the case of a labour movement that could sustain itself through generations of suppression; that could dis-

pense with a bureaucracy; and that could maintain its character of control by the rank and file.

There are, of course, faults and failures. These may be better understood following a study of the working class movement, and dispensing with the criticism of the anarcho-syndicalist offered by Trotskyist sources which make false comparisons out of context with Russia and deal with a period of only three years out of ninety; as a result of which, even among would-be libertarians, the years of struggle and achievement are dismissed

with a vague reference to "bureaucracy" which asserted itself at that period, or among Marxists, with a titter - "he-he anarchists entered the Popular Front Government" - as if there was no more to be said on the matter.

The Spanish labour movement had five overlapping phases which can be summed up in five key words - the "international"; the "union"; the "revolution"; "anti-fascism" and the "resistance". Each represents a different phase and the mistakes, and betrayals appear almost entirely in the fourth ("anti-fascist") phase.

The significant character of the movement is played down deliberately for a simple reason: it overwhelmingly disproves the Leninist thesis, equally flattering to the bourgeois academic, that the working-class, of itself, can only achieve a trade union consciousness - with the corollary that trade union consciousness must be confined to higher wages and better conditions, and without the guiding hand of the middle-class elitist, would never understand that it could change society.

The "International" Phase

The historians want on the one hand to say that Bakunin was a poseur who boasted of mythical secret societies that did not exist; and on the other hand that he, by sending an emissary (who did not speak Spanish) introduced anarchism into Spain. In fact, ever since the Napoleonic wars - and in some parts of Spain long before - the workers and peasants had been forming themselves into societies, which were secret out of grim necessity.

It is sometimes alleged that "liberal" ideas entered Spain only with the French invasion. What in fact came in - with freemasonry - was the political association of the middle class for liberal ideas (and the advancement of capitalism) against the upper classes, and their endeavour to use the working class in that struggle. But the working class and peasants had a known record of 400 years insurrection against the State. It is their risings and struggles, and the means employed - long before anarchism as such was introduced - that are used by historians as if they were describing Spanish anarchism. In Andalusia in particular the peasants refused to lie down

and starve, or to emigrate en masse (only now is this political solution being forced on them): they endeavoured to make their oppressors emigrate - that is to say, to cause a revolution, even locally.

In the eighteen-thirties the co-operative idea was introduced to Spain (relying on early English experience); and the first ideas of socialism were discussed, basing themselves on the experiences of the Spanish workers and also borrowing from Fourier and Proudhon. The early workers' newspapers came out, especially in the fifties, and revealed the existence of workers' guilds in many industries, including the Workers' Mutual Aid Association. Because of the Carlist wars - and the periodic need to reconcile all "liberal" elements - a great deal of this went on publicly, some of it surreptitiously.

The first workers' school was founded in Madrid by Antonio Ignacio Cervera (fifty years before the more famous Modern School of Francisco Ferrer). He also founded a printing press whose periodicals reached workers all over the country. Cervera was repeatedly persecuted and imprisoned (he died in 1860). It was from the ideas of free association, municipal autonomy, workers' control and peasants' collectives that Francisco Pi y Margall, the philosopher, formulated his federalist ideas. The latter is regarded as "the father of anarchism" in Spain. But he did no more than give expression to ideas current for a long time.

During the period of the general strike in Barcelona (1855) the federations entered into relationship with the International Association of Workers in London (later called "The First International"). It was quickly realised that the ideas of the Spanish section of the International were far more in accord with Bakunin's Alliance than with the Marxists. In 1868 Giuseppe Fanelli was sent by Bakunin to contact the Internationalists in Spain. To his surprise - he barely spoke Spanish and said "I am no orator" - at his first meeting he captured the sympathy of all. Among his first "converts" the majority belonged to the printing trade - typographers like Anselmo Lorenzo, lithographers like Donadeu, engravers like Simancas and Velasco, bookbinders and others. It was they who were in Spain the most active, and the

most literate of workers. They formed the nucleus of the International. (Marx wrote gloomily to Engels: "We shall have to leave Spain to him /Bakunin/ for the time being.") By the time of the Congress in Barcelona in 1870, there were workers' federations throughout the country. The programme on which they stood: for local resistance, for municipal autonomy, for workers' control, for the seizure of the land by the peasants, has not since been bettered. They did not fail because they were wrong; merely because (like the Chartists in England) they were before their time. There was no viable economy to seize. They could do nothing but rise and fight.

The bourgeoisie had totally failed, during their long struggle with reaction, to modernise the country. The Government persistently retained control by the use of the army and of the system of Guardia Civil which it had copied from France.

Workers' Federations

In 1871 workers' federations existed in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Cartagena, Malaga, Cadiz, Libares, Alella, Bilbao, Santander, Igualada, Sevilla, Palma de Mallorca - taking no orders from a central leadership, standing on the basis of the local commune as the united expression of the workers' industrial federations, and in complete hostility to the ruling class. It was essentially a movement of craftsmen - as in England the skilled worker became a Radical, in Spain he became an Internationalist. Pride in craft became synonymous with independence of spirit. Just as in England, where the village blacksmith and shoemaker became the "village radical" who because of his independence from "the gentry" could express his own views, and become a focus for the agricultural workers' struggles - so in Spain he became an Internationalist (a stand which he easily combined with regionalism).

The first specifically anarchist nucleus began in Andalucia in 1869 - due to the work of Fermin Salvochea. It was there, too, that the International became strongest. As the repression grew so the anarchist ideas captured the whole of the working class movement. But the reason was not because Bakunin, Fanelli, Lorenzo or Salvochea had decided to give Spanish federalism a name, or

to label it in a sectarian fashion. It was because the Marxist part of the International was growing away from them. During Marx's struggle with Bakunin he was forced more clearly to state his views in a specifically authoritarian manner. The idea of central State authority was precisely what repelled the Spanish Internationalists. The notion that they required a leadership from the centre was something they had already, in their own organisation, dispelled.

The International reached its peak during 1873/4. Its seizure of Cartagena - the Commune of Cartagena - would take precedence over the Commune of Paris for the "storming of the heavens" if greater attention had been paid to it by historians outside Spain.

The Commune of Paris showed how the State could be instantly dispensed with; but its social programme was that of municipal ownership and it was in this sense that its adherents understood the word "communist". In Cartagena the idea of workers' councils was introduced - it was understood that what concerned the community should be dealt with by a federal union of these councils; but that the places of work should be controlled directly by those who worked in them. This "collectivism" preceded by forty or fifty years the "soviets" of Russia (1905 and 1917) or the movements for workers' councils in Germany (1918) and profoundly affected the whole labour movement, which for the next twenty years was in underground war with the regime: bitterly repressed, and fighting back with guerrilla intensity.

The conceptions which the British shop stewards brought to bear on British industry - of horizontal control - during the First World War, of horizontal control to circumvent the trade union bureaucracy - were inbuilt into the Spanish workers' movement from the beginning. When the workers' federations turned from the idea of spontaneous insurrections to that of a revolutionary labour movement and began to form the trade union movement, it had already accepted the criticisms of bureaucracy which were not even made in other countries until some forty or fifty years of experience was to pass; it saw in a union bureaucracy the germs of a workers' state, which it in no way was prepared to accept. Moreover, the idea of socialist or liberal

direction - urged by the freemasons - was seen quite clearly in its class context. It was this experience brought from the "International" period that made the labour movement the most revolutionary and libertarian that existed.

Regionalism

The essential regionalism of the Internationalist movement was somewhat different from trade unionism as it was understood in England. Instead of a national union of persons in the same craft, the basis of craft unionism, there was a regional federation of all workers. The federation divided into sections according to function. Thus it was possible for even individual craftsmen to be associated with the union movement, which accorded with the hatred most of the workers had for the factory system anyway. It also meant that when anyone was blacklisted for strike activities, he could always be set up on his own. Pride in craft was something ingrained in the internationalists. The most frequent form of sabotage against the employer was the "good work" strike - in which better work than he allows for is put into a job. It was something they employed even when there was no specific dispute (it is the reason why there were fewer State inspections of jobs for safety reasons and why today - the union movement having been smashed - one reads so frequently of dams breaking, hotels falling down or not completed to time, and so on). For this reason people trusted the union label when it was ultimately introduced and - despite the law and his own prejudices - an employer had to go to the revolutionaries to get the good workmen, or let the public know he was employing shoddy labour. "You are the robber, not us," was the statement most often hurled at the employer who wanted honesty checks on his workers.

"Regionalism" - the association of workers on the basis of locality first, and then into unions associated with the place of work - was something that concurred fully with the insurrectional character of the movement. Time and again a district rose and proclaimed "libertarian communism" rather than be starved to death or emigrate (the latter solution was, years later, forced on them only by military conquest). It was for this reason that the seemingly pedantic debate began between "collectivism" or "communism" in the anarchist movement - fundamentally a question as to

whether the wage system be retained or not in a free society - since this was indeed an immediate issue in the collectivities and co-operatives established with a frequency as much as in modern Israel - though with the significant difference that it was in a war against the State and not with its tolerant assistance.

Formation of CNT

The workers' organisations persistently refused to enter into political activity of a parliamentary nature. It was the despair of the Republican and Socialist politicians, who were sure they could "direct" the movement into orthodox, legal channels. It was an attempt to divide the movement, not to unite it, that led to the formation of the Union General de Trabajadores (UGT) in 1888. It was a dual union, with only 29 sections and some three thousand members. The congresses of the regional movement - the Internationalist movement which by now was transforming itself into an anarchist one - had seldom less than two or three hundred sections.

In the years of terror and counter-terror that followed, attacks on the workers' movement led to the recurrent individual counter-attacks of the 1900s, resulting in the enormous protests against the Moroccan War that culminated in the "Red Week" of Barcelona. Meantime the socialist movement stood aloof, trying to ingratiate itself with the authorities in the manner of the Labour movement in



England - then still part of the Liberal Party. The demand for national-based craft unions (raised by the UGT) thus became identified with the desire for parliamentary representation in Madrid. (History repeats itself: today, under Franco, the Comisiones Obreras are doing exactly the same thing - to gain Stalinist representation in the Cortes.)

The Spanish movement was entering its "union" phase, influenced strongly by the syndicalism of France. The Solidaridad Obrera movement (Workers' Solidarity) adopted the anti-parliamentarian views of the French CGT whose platform for direct workers' control was far in advance of the epoch, and which was already preparing the way for workers to take over their places of work, even introducing practical courses on workers' control to supplant capitalism.

As the anarcho-syndicalist movement developed in Spain after experience of the way in which the parliamentary socialists had gained creeping control of the syndicalist movement in France and debilitated this movement, it was inbuilt into the formation of the CNT (Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo - National Confederation of Labour) that the movement should follow the traditions of federalism and regionalism that prevented the delegation of powers to a leadership. The CNT was created in 1911 (at the famous conference at the salon de Bellas Artes in Barcelona) as the result of a demand to unite the various workers' federations all over the country - following strikes in Madrid, Bilbao, Sevilla, Jerez de la Frontera, Soria, Malaga, Tarrasa, Saragossa. It helped to organise a general strike the same year (as a result of which it became illegal).

It rose to overwhelming strength during the world war - its most famous test being the general strike arising from the strike at "La Canadiense". From then on, for 25 years, it was in constant battle, yet the State was never able to completely suppress it.

25 Years of Unionism

The complete failure of some libertarians to understand even the elementary principles of the CNT throughout those years is staggering. When the structure and rules of the CNT were reprinted in Black Flag* some comments both

privately and publicly left one amazed. One reader thought it was a "democratic centralist" body, when the whole shape and structure of it was obviously regionalist. For years, indeed, a major debate raged as to whether unions should be federated on a national basis at all. Some could not understand it was a union movement, and pointed out the lack of decisiveness in dealing with national (political) problems.

Another saw in the rule that delegates should not be criticised in public "a libertarian version of don't rock the boat, comrades", comparing it with the determination of the TUC not to let its leaders (quite a different matter) be criticised. But the delegates were elected for one year only. They could be recalled at a moment's notice if they were not representing the views of their members. Most of the time, as negotiating body, they were illegal or semi-legal. It was not pleasant for someone who avoided acting as a delegate, and who had the power to recall the delegate if there were sufficient members in agreement, to attack a named delegate in public. That is not the same thing at all as criticising a permanent leader or democratically-elected dictator such as one finds in British trade unionism. Nor is it the same thing as saying one should never criticise anyone at all. (It must, however, be held against the rule that in 1936/9 and after many refrained from criticising self-appointed spokesmen because of this tradition.)

Yet others, bringing a forced criticism of Spanish labour organisation in order to fit preconceived theories, have suggested it was subordinated to a political leadership, the Anarchist Federation playing a "Bolshevik" role (something quite inconceivable) or that of a Labour Party. What such critics cannot understand is that the anarchists relinquished the building of a political party of their own, and that it was only because of this that they had their special relationship with the CNT. Had they endeavoured to give it a political leadership, they would have succeeded in alienating themselves as did the Marxists. (The original Marxist party, the POUM, endeavoured for years to obtain control of the CNT: later, when the Communist Party was introduced into Spain in the 'thirties, the POUM was denounced as "trotskyists" and even "trotsky-fascists" by the Stalinists. The

*Reproduced in this issue.

Trotskyists proper took the line that the very existence of a revolutionary union was an anachronism and they criticised the POUM for trying to infiltrate the CNT rather than to enter, and aspire to lead, the UGT - though the latter was a minority organisation.)

Like many other anarchist groups in other countries, those in Spain were based on affinity, or friendship, groups - which are both the most difficult for the police to penetrate, and the most productive of results - as against which is the positive danger of clique-ism, a problem never quite solved anywhere. The anarchists who became well known to the general public were those associated with exploits which no organisation could ever officially sanction. For instance, Buenaventura Durruti came to fame as the result of his shooting Archbishop Soldevila, in his own cathedral - in response to the murder, by gunmen of Soldevila's "Catholic" company union, of the general secretary of the CNT, the greatly-loved Salvador Seguí. With bank robberies to help strike funds, the names of the inseparable Durruti, Ascaso and Jover became household words to the many workers who faced privation and humiliation in their everyday life, and felt somehow revindicated as well as reinvigorated.

One must bear in mind the capitalist class was at this time engaged in its own struggle against the feudal elements of Spain (which even resisted the introduction of telephones). The economic struggle of capitalism (palely reflected in the political mirror as that of republicanism versus the monarchy) was an extremely difficult one: it made the struggle of the workers to survive that much more difficult. The employers did not have as much to yield as in other countries where industrialisation had progressed; had they in fact been further advanced, the amount so militant an organisation could have obtained from capitalism would have been staggering.

As it was, capitalism fought a constant last-ditch stand against labour. It was a bloody one, too, and it should not be supposed that individual "terror" was on one side. The lawyer for the CNT, a paraplegic, well known for his stand on civil liberties - Francisco Layret who could be compared with Benedict Birnberg here, who has complained he has been put on a police blacklist - was shot down in his wheelchair by employers' pistoleros.

It was against such pistoleros that the FAI hit back. Anarchist assassination is taken out of its class context by Marxist critics. They did not think that individual attacks would "change society", that the capitalist class would be terrorised or the State converted by them. They hit back because those who do not do so, perish.

Unity

While the local federations always opposed any form of common action with the republican or local nationalist parties, and sometimes lumped (correctly) the Socialist Party with the bourgeois parties, nevertheless on the whole they deplored the division in the ranks of the proletariat and as the struggle deepened in the thirties could not see why they should be separated from the UGT, or the Marxist parties - the CP, POUM or some sections of the Socialist Party. "Unity" is always something that sounds attractive. But notwithstanding the adage it does not always mean strength. Those who desire it the most are those who must compromise the most and therefore become weak and vacillating.

The popular mistake, too, is to assume that because these parties were more "moderate" in their policies - that is to say, more favourably inclined to capitalism and less willing to change the economic basis of society - they were somehow more gentle in their approach, or pacific in their intentions. Under the Republic the "moderate" parties (which had collaborated with the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera under the monarchy) created the Assault Guards especially to hit the workers, and the CNT in particular. To imagine an equivalent one must assume that in addition to the police, the Army are also on street patrol - as an equivalent to the Guardia Civil - but the Government brings in a special armed force (like the "B" Specials) to attack the TUC. This was a "moderate" policy as against the "extremism" of the anarchists who wanted to abolish the armed forces (which incidentally were plotting against the Republic). That was an "impractical and utopian" idea, said the Republicans and Socialists, who aimed to democratise the armed forces instead by purging it of older monarchists and bringing in young generals like Francisco Franco (whose brother was a Freemason and Republican, as well as a "national hero"),

whose "loyalty to the republic would be assured".

Problems

The problem that we are familiar with is that of a labour movement hesitant to take its opportunities, while the capitalist class seizes every possibility of advancing its interests. The problem for Spanish labour was entirely different: namely, that while it was determined and even impatient for Revolution, the capitalist class remained (until only a comparatively few years ago) afraid to interfere politically lest it upset the equilibrium by which the military were the last resort of the regime, and unwilling to move too far ahead industrially for fear of the State power dominated by feudal reaction. Only a few foreign capitalists were willing to take the plunge in exploiting the country. Thus strike after strike developed into a general strike, and the confrontation thus achieved became a local insurrection, for the capitalists were asked more than they would or sometimes could grant.

It is the insurrections which have been more often the concern of historians who inevitably talk of "the anarchists" and their conduct in running this or that local conflict: in reality, the anarchists had helped to create an organisation by which the workers and peasants could run such insurrections themselves. It is inevitable that because of this, mistakes of generalship would occur and it would be futile to deny that a highly organised political

party could possibly have marshaled such forces much differently (this was the constant despair of the Marxist parties); but towards what end? The conquest of power by themselves. In rejecting this solution, other problems arose which must be the continued concern of revolutionaries.

What, after all, is the point of accepting a political leadership which might seize power - with no real benefit to the working class, as was the real case in Soviet Russia - by virtue of its brilliant leadership (and its tactical and tacit arrangements with imperialist powers) - or might (as the Communist Party did in Chiang's China or Weimar Germany) lead, with all its trained "cadres", to the same sort of defeat the man on the ground could quite easily manage for himself?

One other point must be taken into consideration, and that was the demoralisation of many militants after years of struggle in which enormous demands were made upon the delegates with absolutely no return whatever outside that received by all. There was no problem of bureaucracy (the general secretary was a paid official; beyond him there were never more than two or three paid officials) but then as a result there was no reward for the delegates, who suffered imprisonment - and the threat of death - and who needed to be of high moral integrity to undertake jobs involving negotiation, and even policy decisions of international consequence, that in other countries would lead to high office but in Spain led merely to a return to the work bench at best, or to jail and the firing squad at worst.

It is not a coincidence, nor the result of conscious "treachery", that many militants who came up through the syndicates* later discovered "reasons" for political collaboration or entry into the political parties, which alone offered rewards, and every one of which hankered after the libertarian union, which alone had a broad base that would mean certain victory for whoever could command it.



*Pestaña, for instance, once General Secretary, later hived off to form his own political party (the "Treintistas" - after his "Committee of Thirty").

The student-movement-inspired thesis is wrong: the FAI was not a Bolshevik nor a social-democratic party. If it had been, this problem would not have arisen. The problems of Spanish labour in those years were not problems of political control, nor whether the tactics of this party or that party were right or wrong (that is to think of Spain in terms appropriate to the Stalin-Trotsky quarrel, but the dispute between the rival gangsters of the Kremlin is not necessarily applicable in every country). Basically they were the problems of freedom, and of mass participation in its own destiny. We must not delude ourselves that these do not exist.

With this background of the labour movement it was impossible for the capitalist class to switch it round on the basis of nationalism and harness it behind themselves, as they had done with temporary success in many countries in the First World War, and with some permanent (as it then seemed) success in the Nazi era. The Falange tried to ape the workers' syndicates but nobody was fooled who did not want to be. When the Falange failed in its task, as every attempt of the Spanish bourgeoisie failed - whether liberal, republican or fascist - the Army was brought in, in the classical manner of a ruling class holding power by force.

What took the ruling class by surprise - having seen the way in which the labour movements of the world caved in at the first blast of the trumpet (above all, the fabulous Red Army trained movement of the German workers under Marxist leadership reduced with one blow of the fist to a few, frightened people being beaten up in warehouses) - was the resistance to the nation's own army by the working people. If at that moment the Popular Front (claiming to be against fascism) - realising its fate would be sealed with the victory of the Army - had armed the people, the rising would have been over. The result of their refusing to do so meant that trench warfare could develop, in which (against heavy arms, and later troops and planes, coming in from the fascist countries) the Spaniards could only resist, keep on the defence, and never mount an attack; hence they would be bound to lose in the finish.

One of the most significant trends shown in July 1936 was the seizure of the factories and

the land by the workers. This was an experience in workers' self-management which was not however unique - since the same attempts had been made by many collectives and co-operatives before - but whose scale was staggering - and which represented in itself a defiant gesture of resistance by the workers which the Popular Front Government wished to play down, and eventually suppress.

For this reason the Popular Front has never since ceased, through its supporters at the time, to harp on one theme only: the International Brigade. But this merits a separate article.

It was not merely the disciplinary and murderous drives by the Communist Party that destroyed the collectivisation and self-management. One must add to it the fact that as the civil war proceeded, the workers, were leaving the factories in ever increasing numbers, for the front lines, which became ever more restricted.

Divisions

The fact that the workers had, with practically their bare hands, prevented an immediate military victory and, as it seemed, prevented the rise of world fascism, caused a euphoric condition. The slogan was "United Proletarian Brothers": the flags of the CNT mixed with those of the UGT. The Communists and Socialists were welcomed as fellow-workers, even the Republicans accepted for their sake. Undoubtedly the whole mass of CNT workers - and others - welcomed this end of divisions which seemed pointless as against world fascism. In time of war one looks favourably upon any allies: no leadership could have prevailed against the feeling that there were no more divisions in the workers' ranks. On the contrary, those who now aspired to leadership - since the conditions of war were such that leadership could exist - began to extol the merits of their new-found allies.

Those who refer to the "atrocities" of the early period of the Civil War seldom point to the root cause of many of them: the fact that the Republican authority was now officially on the side of the workers. A simple illustration was told me by Miguel Garcia of how, in the early days in Barcelona the group he was with

seizing arms from the gunsmiths' to fight the army, came in confrontation with a troop of armed Guardia Civil, the hated enemy. The officer in charge signalled them to pass. They did so silently, waiting to dash for it - expecting to be shot in the back in accordance with the *ley de fuga*. But the officer saluted. The Guardia Civil was loyal to the Government. In many villages the people stormed the police barracks demanding vengeance on the enemy. They were greeted with cries of "Viva la Republica". "We are your allies now. We are the officers of the Popular Front. Ask your allies in the Republican and Socialist parties if it is not so."

Even so, many anarchists never trusted them.

It was the police and Guardia Civil who were the most vicious to the fascists whom they had to detain, to show their enthusiasm for the popular cause. Later, when the tides of war had changed, they had to be even more vicious to the anti-fascists, to show that they had never ceased in allegiance to the properly constituted authority.

The Compromises

It is relevant to this description of the Spanish labour movement to trace the dissolution of the CNT, since with the drift from the factories it ceased to be a union movement and became, in effect, an association of militants.

During the war what was in effect a demoralisation of many militants set in, and a division occurred between "well known names" and those militants who really made up the organised movement (the rank and file militants, *militantes de base*), since the demand for unity, understandable as it was, led to a collaboration with the republican government under the slogan of "UHP". All those who had for years been denied a recognition of their talents - and craved for it - now had their chance. Majors, generals; in the police and in the direction of government; even in the ministries themselves. Those who so collaborated did not really go as representatives either of the anarchist movement or of the labour organisation although their collaboration was passively accepted by most. They took advantage of the greatest weakness of the traditional anarchist movement, the "person-

ality cult" (as witness Kropotkin, individually supporting World War I, and causing enormous damage to the movement which he in no way represented and from which his "credentials" could not be withdrawn for there were none except moral recognition).

The emergence of an orator like Garcia Oliver, or Federica Montseny, as a Minister purporting to represent the CNT was a symptom of these collaborationist moves. Keeping the matter in proportion their betrayals and compromises were effected by the defeat, and were not its cause.

It was, however, this division that disorientated the organisation in subsequent years.

Following the defeat, the libertarian movement was re-established in a General Council in Paris in February 1939. The existing secretary of the CNT, Mariano Vasquez, was appointed secretary of the Council. But this was in no way a trades union. It was a council of war, intending to maintain contact between the exiles now scattered round the world, and in particular those in France, where the majority were in concentration camps, set up with barbed wire and guarded by Senegalese soldiers, as if they were POWs, but under conditions forbidden by the Geneva Convention.

There were no longer meetings appointing delegates subject to recall, nor any check upon the representatives of the movement. Nobody in any case was interested. The working class of Spain had been decisively smashed. Its organisations were in ruins. Those in exile had to build a new life. Those inside Spain were facing daily denunciations leading to the firing squad and prison. The children of the executed and imprisoned were thrown into the streets. Large numbers of workers were moving to places where they hoped they would avoid notice.

Those publications which appeared spoke only in the vaguest terms about the future. All that mattered was the overthrow of Franco and of Fascism. In the circumstances, a political party - with a policy dictated from the central committee - would have produced a clear line (however vicious this might be, as the Communist Party's line was after the Stalin-Hitler Pact - one typical symptom being Frank Ryan, IRA CP fighter in the Interna-

tional Brigade, who went from Franco's prison to become a Nazi collaborator). The libertarian movement was clear only that it was anti-fascist. And that it would have no further truck with the Communist Party.

This was not an unreasonable line to take in the circumstances, but for a fatal corollary to the anti-fascist commitment, which ultimately paralysed the entire Spanish working-class movement and has kept Franco in power to this day. This was that one must therefore accept anti-fascism at its face value and ascribe anti-fascism to the democratic powers which were also fighting against powers which happened to be fascist.

A moment's reflection will show the falsity of the position. Today China finds herself in conflict with Russia. But she is not only not necessarily anti-Communist (in the Leninist sense), she is not (in that sense) anti-Communist at all. There is no reason to suppose that if China defeated Russia she would end state dictatorship and concentration camps; to ascribe such motives to China is to deceive oneself deliberately. Neither did it follow in 1939 that anybody who happened to be fighting the Fascist Powers were therefore anti-fascist in the same sense that the libertarians were.

Nor had ideology anything to do with it. America, while retaining democracy at home, is perfectly able to support dictatorship abroad. Yet in 1939 it was seriously supposed even by the best of the Spanish militants that Britain and France must "logically" oppose fascism, as if nations went to war merely to impose their ideology. It was more difficult to support their jailer France, but after France fell, Britain seemed to be sympathetic. The British Secret Service enlisted the aid of the Spanish Resistance groups, which sprang up immediately after the disaster of 1940. They sought aid to bring soldiers out of France over the border; they enlisted the support of the "gangs" inside Spain to raid foreign Embassies and sabotage Nazi plans; they sought to co-operate (though it never came to dominating) the Spanish resistance in France. Because Franco's men were at the time so violently anti-British, it was supposed Britain must "logically" want to overthrow Franco. And it was more "reasonable" to believe in a British victory - a practical proposition - than in Revolution!

Even those in the Resistance who never trusted the British agents, and who insisted on getting paid for any services they gave them, never believed that they could be double-crossed. Yet after a network of unions had been re-established in Spain during the war - and a Resistance built up without parallel in modern history, inside Spain - all the committees were destroyed. None of the militants ever saw cause and effect. Soon after the war, for instance, a meeting was called by the British Embassy for militants of the CNT to discuss the ANFD (Alliance of Democratic Forces) and the possibility of co-operation with the (pro-British) monarchists. CNT delegate Cipriano Mera reported that he could not see the point of it. A few weeks later the entire CNT committee was arrested. Cause and effect have not been seen to this day. How could it have been the British Embassy that was the traitor? Britain was "democratic", Franco was "fascist".

One could go on at great length, but it can be seen how the "anti-fascist" period, coming when the union phase had finished, helped to establish a movement in exile, in which no popular representation existed or was required, and acted as a brake on Resistance. After the war, the exiles began to fit into life abroad. What took over their organisation was not a bureaucracy so much as domination by the "names". There was no longer local autonomy in which all met as equals. For a committee in Toulouse, one was asked to pick "names". The "great names" came to the fore. But what were these "great names"? They were not the names of the militants of pre-war days. They were those who came to the fore during the era of government collaboration. Among them was a division on many subjects. Some thought they should enter political collaboration with the Republican Government (pointless now that it was defeated, but it still had money stacked away in Mexico). Others wanted a return to independence - but they could not return to being a union. Only the workers inside Spain could do that.

The majority of exiles never want to compromise their position. It is understandable, but it is fatal for the struggle in the interior. In fact an exile movement is basically in a farcical position, for it is giving up the fact of struggle in the country where it exists and trying to carry one on in a country where it

does not exist. It thus surrenders its usefulness as a force in the labour movement in the country where it resides; while at the same time holding back the struggle in the country from which it originates - since the considerations that hold one back from action in a more open society are not necessarily valid in the dictatorship. Time and again, therefore, the Organisation found itself in conflict with the Resistance in Spain, being built up by groups such as those of Sabater, Facerias and others.

The Resistance - because of its daring attacks upon the regime - was able to build up the labour movement time and again. It was destroyed many times; and has been re-built. It has expected help from the exile Organisation and received nothing. Worse, it has been held back. For this reason one finds today the whole of the pretended "official" libertarian movement in utter disarray - the Montseny-Iglesias faction expelling all and sundry - striking out in the last gasps of dissolution... above all, denouncing the real libertarian movement inside Spain because it dares to use the name of the CNT! (It is for this reason that organisations like the Federacion Obrera Iberica - to save the recriminations about "forging the seals" of the Organisation which are held as by apostolic succession in Toulouse - have simply changed their name, with the same aims as the CNT of old.)

The Spanish Libertarian Movement, so-called (MLE) is not a union movement, nor an anarchist movement. It is anti-fascist in ideology, but basically it looks to a "solution of the Spanish problem" rather than supporting the Resistance in any way. Time and again the expected political solutions have failed - or rather, have succeeded in the way their authors intended them, leaving the MLE pathetically declaring that the British, French or American Governments have let them down. Even now, many cannot understand how it came about that Britain did not send an Army in to liberate Spain; why the Government did not even want to do so - and indeed, that elements in the British Government may have considered Spain already liberated - by Franco! These are the people who denounce the Resistance as "impractical", "utopian" - above all, "violent"! Many will explain that "violence" is wrong. That is to say, it was

permissible in the Civil War, when it was legal; and during the World War when, if not legal, in Spanish eyes, it was granted the equivalent status by virtue of the fact that resistance was "legally" recognised in France, but it became "un-libertarian" even "un-Spanish" with the end of the World War!

This colours the attitude towards Resistance in Spain, and nothing marks a greater dividing line. The Resistance was carefully nourished by the Sabater brothers - of whom so little is known* - the various bands of the Resistance such as the Tallion, Los Manos etc., by Facerias and others. It had perforce to return to the tradition of guerrilla warfare and activism.

Despite the "official" propaganda in which the Libertarian Movement in Exile constantly invokes the name of the CNT, it is not the same thing at all. The traditions of the CNT are reaffirmed by the Resistance within Spain, which is back in the period of regional committees and local resistance, and is still unable to reconstitute itself on a nation-wide scale - which indeed it may not consider essential.

The period predicted by Marx during which Spanish labour would have to be left to "Bakunin" is, of course, over. The Communists, Maoists and Nationalists of various brands have grown considerably - though socialism and the UGT are dead. Thanks to the folly of "Toulouse" the name of the CNT has been eclipsed by schism. But we note one thing: whenever the struggle in Spain becomes acute, the workers turn to anarchism.

Albert Meltzer



*A book on Sabater by Antonio Tellez, trans. Stuart Christie, is coming out next Spring - published by Davis-Poynter.

THE RULE BOOK OF THE CONFEDERACION DEL TRABAJO (CNT)

Spanish anarcho-syndicalist trades union

(National Confederation of Labour)

The constitution as printed in the membership card is set out in full here.

The emancipation of the workers must be the work of the workers themselves.

Anarcho-syndicalism and anarchism recognise the validity of majority decisions.

The militant has a right to his own point of view and to defend it, but he is obliged to comply with majority decisions, even when they are against his own feeling.

A membership card, without the corresponding confederal seal, is no longer valid. The confederal seal is the only means of income that the Regional and National Committees have. Not to keep it paid is to sabotage the work that has been recommended to those committees, for they are unable to carry out decisions without the economic means to do so.

We recognise the sovereignty of the individual, but we accept and agree to carry out the collective mandate taken by majority decision. Without this there is no organisation.

We must never lack the mental clarity to see danger and to act with rapidity. To lose time in talking at meetings by holding philosophic discussions is anti-revolutionary. The adversary does not discuss, he acts.

The most fundamental principle of federal-

ism is the right of the members to examine the role of the militants and to have control of their delegates, no matter what the circumstances or what position they have given them.

We must allow a margin of confidence to our delegates. But we must also retain the right to replace them if necessary.

To criticise in public those comrades given places of confidence in our organisation is to devalue the organisation. No conscientious comrade criticises the committees in public, because this only favours the adversary.

The choice of delegates is discussed internally and it is essential that this takes place. But one should remain silent in public. Think as you wish, but as a worker you need the Syndicate, because it is there to protect your interests.

Comrade: This membership card is the safeguard of your working life. It has no price, but you will prize it above everything. And you will be ready to defend the card of the CNT wherever you see it attacked. **UNITY IS STRENGTH.**

Worker: The syndicate is your means of solidarity. Only in it are you able to form a united proletarian movement that will go forward to emancipation.

A BAS LES CHEFS!

JOSEPH DÉJACQUE



Aspects Of Anarchy

DÉJACQUE
and
COEURDEROY

Ernest Coeurderoy and Joseph Déjacque are two of the most interesting figures in the development of anarchist ideas following the 1848 revolution in France. They are important because they took anarchism forward from the non-revolutionary libertarianism of Proudhon and the non-libertarian revolutionism of the socialist leaders, and pointed the way towards the formulation of a consistent anarchist doctrine and the formation of a genuine anarchist movement. They both died before this could happen and were forgotten for many years, but they were discovered at the end of the nineteenth century and they have recently been rediscovered.

They both belonged to the petite-bourgeoisie, which has provided most

anarchist thinkers. Coeurderoy was born in 1825, the son of a republican doctor in Burgundy, and he became both a doctor and a republican himself, practising medicine and participating in political agitation in Paris just before 1848. Déjacque was born in 1822, the son of a poor widow in Paris, and became a wall-paper seller, a sailor, a shop-clerk, and finally a house-painter and paper-hanger, also being active in the Paris labour movement just before 1848. Thus they represented respectively the professional and artisanal strands in anarchist history, and both began their political careers in a revolutionary situation.

They both took part in the successful February revolution in Paris, when the monarchy was replaced by a bourgeois republic, and also in the unsuccessful June rising against the Provisional Government, when the socialist workers tried to replace the bourgeois regime and were savagely repressed. Coeurderoy escaped arrest for a time, but had to go into hiding in June 1849 and soon left France. Déjacque was arrested in June 1848 and imprisoned for several months, arrested again in June 1849, and tried in 1851 for publishing subversive poems; he left France just before Louis Napoléon's coup d'état of December 1851 ended the revolutionary period with a Bonapartist dictatorship.

Coeurderoy took refuge in Switzerland from 1849 to 1851, then in Belgium, England, Spain, and Italy (where he married), then in unknown places after 1855, during which time he seems to have become mentally ill, and then again in Switzerland, where he is believed to have committed suicide in 1862. Déjacque took refuge in Belgium, then in England from 1851 to 1852, in Jersey from 1852 to 1854, and in the United States from 1854 to 1861, when he returned to England and then to France, where he is believed to have died in poverty in 1864.

Coeurderoy lived by practising medicine (in 1851 he published an article on "People's Medicine"), and his political activity consisted mainly of keeping in touch with other revolutionary exiles and writing against the prevailing republican opinions. He helped to produce a pamphlet called The Barrier of the Combat (1852), and also wrote some letters which were printed (including one of 1854 to Herzen), many articles, and two books, On Revolution

in Man and Society (1852) and Hurrah!!! or Revolution by Cossacks (1854); a third book, On Harmony in Man and Society, was announced but has disappeared without trace. His chief work was a long autobiography, Days of Exile, of which two volumes appeared in 1854-55; a third volume was announced but has also disappeared without trace. He seems to have published nothing after 1855.

COEURDEROY on revolution

"Revolutionary anarchists, let us say it loudly: we have no hope except in the human deluge; we have no future except in chaos; we have no chance except in a general war which, mixing all races and smashing all established relationships, will remove from the hands of the ruling classes the instruments of oppression with which they violate the liberties won at the price of our blood. Let us introduce the revolution into deeds, let us transfuse it into institutions; let it be inoculated by the blade of the sword into the social organisms, so that they are no longer bewitched by it! Let the human sea rise and overflow! When all the disinherited are seized by famine, property will no longer be holy; in the armed struggle, iron will sound louder than gold; when everyone fights in his own cause, no one will need to be represented; in the midst of the confusion of tongues, the lawyers, journalists, and opinion-makers will not be heard. With its fingers of steel the revolution breaks all Gordian knots; it has no understanding with Privilege, no pity for hypocrisy, no fear of battle, no check in its passions, no coolness for its lovers, no quarter for its enemies. So let's get on with it and sing its praises!"

Hurrah!!! or Revolution by Cossacks (1854)

Déjacque lived very poorly and took a more active part in revolutionary politics. He made dramatic interventions at the funerals of two republican exiles - first in London in 1852 and then in Jersey in 1853 - taking the opportunity to accuse the socialist and republican leaders of betraying the revolution, and he signed the programme of the socialist International Association in 1855 while he was in the United States. Indeed it was there that he did his most important work - being involved in the disputes among the French republican groups, publishing several pamphlets, especially The Revolutionary Question (1854),

many articles, and an enlarged collection of his poems, but above all producing the first anarchist-communist paper in America, Le Libertaire, of which 27 issues appeared from June 1858 to February 1861 and in which Déjacque printed his chief work, The Humanisphere. He seems to have published nothing after 1861.

Both Coeurderoy and Déjacque began with a fierce critique of the socialist leaders who had betrayed the 1848 revolution - The Barrier of the Combat and The Revolutionary Question are reminiscent of post-revolutionary anarchist polemics over a period of more than a century, from the Paris Commune of 1871 to the Paris "events" of 1968, taking in Russia and Spain on the way. But from that point they diverge.

Coeurderoy was an emotional and frequently a hysterical writer, and all his works are marked by the use of intense rhetoric and impassioned violence. He quickly despaired of the social movement in France and in all other so-called civilised countries, and instead he looked forward to the invasion of barbarians from the East - especially the "Cossacks" from Russia - and the destruction of all established institutions in a storm of fire and death. Here may be seen an attitude which closely resembled that of the Russian Slavophiles and of their successor in the anarchist movement, Bakunin, and which reappears in libertarian thought several times afterwards - in the early Kropotkin, in many Spanish figures (especially Durruti), and in the contemporary Situationists.

DEJACQUE on revolution

"Principles:

Liberty, equality, fraternity.

Consequences:

Abolition of government in all its forms, monarchical or republican, supremacy of an individual or of majorities;

But anarchy, individual sovereignty, complete, unlimited, absolute freedom to do everything, everything that is in the nature of a human being.

Abolition of religion, Catholic, Protestant, Hebrew or anything else. Abolition of clergy

and of church, of priest, vicar or pope, minister or rabbi, of divinity, idol in one or three persons, universal autocracy or oligarchy;

But man, at once creature and creator, having only nature for god, science for religion, humanity for church.

Abolition of personal property, property in land, building, factory, shop, property in every instrument of labour, production or consumption;

But collective property, one and indivisible, possession in common.

Abolition of the family, based on marriage, on paternal or marital authority, on heredity;

But the great human family, one and indivisible, like property.

Liberation of woman, emancipation of the child.

Finally, abolition of authority, of privilege, of antagonism;

But liberty, equality, fraternity embodied in humanity;

But all the consequences of this triple formula brought from theoretical abstraction into practical reality, into positivism.

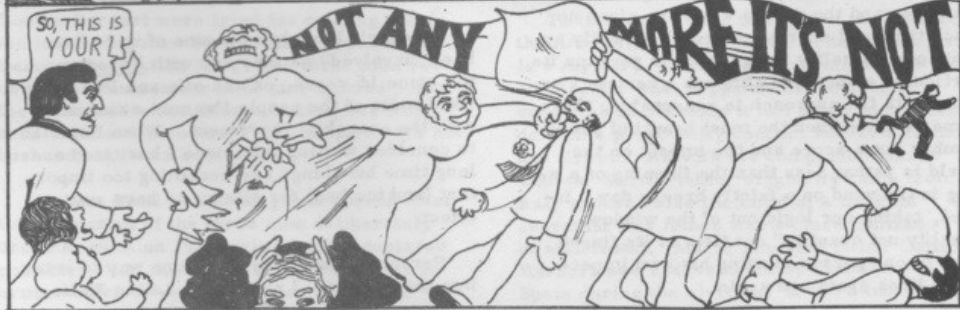
That is to say, Harmony, that oasis of our dreams, ceasing to fly like a mirage before the caravan of the generations and offering to each and to all, under its fraternal shade and in universal unity, the sources of happiness, the fruits of liberty: a life of delight, at last, after an agony of more than eighteen centuries in the barren desert of civilisation!"

The Revolutionary Question (1854)

Déjacque was equally inclined to praise of violence, but he was more interested in the work of construction following the necessary destruction. He called for small groups to smash present society by secret conspiratorial violence, but he also looked forward to the future society that would emerge. The Humanisphere, an "Anarchist Utopia" which wasn't published in book form until 1899 (and then was purged of its more ferocious passages), looked a thousand years into the future and combined the best ideas of Fourier and of Proudhon. Here may be seen an attitude which also reappears in libertarian thought several times afterwards - in the later Kropotkin, in William Morris, in the revolutionary syndicalists, and in the contemporary Underground.

Nicolas Walter





WHAT'S WRONG WITH *anarchist weekly* **Freedom**

WHEN I WAS at school, back in days almost lost in the mists of time - somewhere in the late 1950s - I noticed an advert in the New Statesman for Freedom - the anarchist weekly. It was concerned with a campaign to save the Third programme and it makes me smile to remember this because it sums up in a way the paper and the people who have given so much time and energy towards its weekly appearance. Quality not quantity is perhaps its particular stance and although a certain sympathy with the approach is reasonable, there comes a time when the most beautiful people number but a score and the impact on the world is rather less than the flapping of a wet flag in the wind on a faintly breezy day. Indeed, taking our logic out of the window, "quality not quantity" consists at its finest hour of one person reading his own impeccable lines again and again.

One would not suggest that Freedom has quite reached that position but I've taken to mistaking the writing on a postage stamp for the weekly dose from Whitechapel High Street. Symbolic that, for the portrait of the Queen reminds one of the messages from Freedom's present editors: "My husband and I..."

Oh dear! What has become of us? I've been "involved" as they say with Freedom for some 15 years, on and off, and I've always liked most of the people I've met associated with the anarchist movement. When I started to consider writing this piece I hesitated a long time but things are becoming too important (and too bad) for silence to have any effect.

Personal reminiscence is one way to enter into the subject. I remember Lilian Wolfe,

for instance, who corresponded with me in Africa and worked for many years at Freedom Press, whether at Red Lion Street, Maxwell Street or in Whitechapel - the tangible historical connection with the Freedom of her companion Tom Keele who criticised Kropotkin in Freedom over his attitude to the First World War. A gentler person than Lilian would be hard to imagine; I can see her as being in J. B. Priestley's mind (along with Herbert Read) when he voiced his views on a BBC radio programme called "The Gentle Anarchists" years ago. It was Lilian who first made me think about vegetarianism and I can recall her laugh when I admitted my difficulty was that I like meat. The women's lib paper Shrew devoted two pages recently to Lilian Wolfe and one should know that she still works for the War Resisters International at 90 odd and that Jean and Tony Smythe accommodate her in their house. I mention this because my quarrel with pacifists is ideological, not personal. Their example is not lightly to be dismissed and we need them to remind us of their position when others pull in opposite directions.

From there we step onto more contentious paths: to those who have shaped Freedom since the war. Four editors of Freedom, after the split in the libertarian movement at the end of the war, were arrested and tried for offences associated with suggesting soldiers should not give up their arms on being demobbed from the services. Some charitable people suggest that the split in the movement caused a requirement for a demonstration of the Freedom group's convictions. This does not bear up to examination: the plain truth seems to be that personal squabbles had occurred after actions which might have led to arrest had been taken many times during the war. Whatever the case Vernon Richards, John Hewetson, Philip Sansom and Marie Louise Berneri were tried for causing disaffection among members of HM Forces under Defence Regulation 39A. The three men received prison sentences of nine months but on the technicality that Marie Louise was Richards' wife and thus could not conspire with her husband, she was acquitted.

Herbert Read in a courageous speech after the conviction of the three men deliberately broke Regulation 39A again when he declared publicly: "Let the nation remain a people in arms - stick to your arms, we say to the

people, rather than deliver them up to any gang which takes it upon itself to speak in the name of a new State." Read broke the law with "great pleasure... only to show that we are by no means intimidated by what has happened... We are not moved one inch from our course". Justice Birkett at the trial went so far as to describe the anarchists as of the highest character and said he was quite prepared to believe they were actuated by the highest motives. (See "Freedom: Is it a Crime?", two speeches by Herbert Read.)

Marie Louise Berneri and George Woodcock continued to edit Freedom until the others were released. Woodcock has written of this period in his recent biography of Read The Stream and the Source, for it was Read, George Orwell and Woodcock who were prominent in the Freedom Defence Committee that not only defended the Freedom editors but became a body which provoked the National Council for Civil Liberties to some extent.

I've never met John Hewetson and the tragic death of Marie Louise occurred before my time, although her spirit lives on in her memorable book Journey Through Utopia, but Philip Sansom and Vero Richards I have met and their devotion to anarchism could not be questioned. Philip Sansom is a great orator as anyone who has heard him, on form, in Hyde Park knows - his position is closer to syndicalism than the others intimately connected with Freedom Press; indeed he worked on a paper called The Syndicalist with Albert Meltzer for a while and I remember his appearance with the two chief opponents of the Freedom Group - Tom Brown and Ken Hawkes - at one of those July memorials to the Spanish revolution arranged by the Syndicalist Workers Federation.

To those who were not part of the split of the Anarchist Federation of Britain the episode is a mystery. Suffice to say I don't know for sure really what happened or why, but I'm under the impression it had a fair amount to do with a personality conflict between Richards and Brown. As with his companion Marie Louise, Vero's father originally came from Italy and was also the child of a militant anarchist (his father was a close comrade of Malatesta). Marie Louise's father Camillo Berneri was assassinated by Communists in Spain during the civil war in 1937 and Vero

with Marie Louise came to Britain to inspire the rather redundant anarchist movement and set up Spain and the World. This is important because Freedom claims a continuous publication from 1886 when the paper was founded by Charlotte Wilson and Kropotkin - in fact between the 1920s and 1936 there was little anarchist propagandist activity and it is reasonable to insist that the publication of Spain and the World was a fresh impact on the anarchist scene. Yet it was a significant impact as was the influence of the war paper of the group entitled War Commentary which they edited with Tom Brown and Albert Meltzer. Figures like Herbert Read, George Orwell, Alex Comfort and George Woodcock became part of the libertarian milieu and the young Jomo Kenyatta was persuaded to contribute to the anarchist press. Working class syndicalists developed vital industrial contacts and the Anarchist Federation of Britain was undoubtedly on the social and political map at the end of the war. The split, however, with its violence and bitterness (commented on by Ethel Mannin fictionally [?] in Comrade O Comrade) created a situation which has ramifications even today. Ken Hawkes and Tom Brown, who set up the Syndicalist Workers Federation and published Direct Action, later World Labour News and Direct Action once more, were on good terms with some groups of Spanish refugees - thought by some to be the Spanish refugees who had "compromised" - and whenever I visited their office I can vouch for a fraternity in the operation of their paper which many have felt to be lacking with Freedom. I remember Wynford Hicks telling me he'd been asked to write the headline for the paper the first time they had ever met him and I was part of editorial decisions at any time I bothered to go to their small office. Thinking back it is interesting to note that Tony Smythe, Wynford Hicks, Bill Christopher, Nicolas Walter and I all contributed articles to the SWF publications with Tom Brown's fascinating pages from working class history. We have this link with the SWF along with Colin Wilson who prior to writing The Outsider was often falling off the SWF platform in Hyde Park.

Vernon Richards and Tom Brown were never the best of friends. In a cloak of supposed innocence I once suggested to Richards that Tom Brown would give a useful working class angle if he could be persuaded to write for Freedom. The reaction was unfavourable

and I recall being reminded of things that happened when I "was in short pants" with yet another tale to add to the list of "what happened at the time of the split". Those who have worked with Vero have a great respect for him and there is no doubt that he has spent a lot of time working for the journal - his two books Lessons of the Spanish Revolution (praised by Chomsky) and Malatesta - His Life and Ideas (praised by The Times!) are outstanding contributions to the anarchist movement on an international scale and his weekly editorials in the sixties in Freedom (usefully available in Freedom selections) were as vigorous and engaging as it is possible to be. Before we get to disagreements it is as well to make it clear that I think he's a great man and I'm aware that I'm not alone with this opinion.

The other figures attached to Freedom I've known are Colin Ward, Jack Robinson, Tony Gibson and Frances Sokolov. I've met Rita Milton, John Rety and others but I'd say the only former editor of Freedom I've known well is Jack Stevenson. Colin Ward's contribution in editing Anarchy for ten years looks more and more formidable every time I refer back to past issues of the monthly. It was during its hey-day that Anarchy began to achieve the influence of the earlier anarchist publications of the 1940s. Tony Gibson, who has not as yet produced anything on anarchism which demonstrates his real ability, is the orthodox psychologist to put against the Reichian influence within anarchist circles (or should I say boxes?). I can recall being touched and surprised when Tony gleefully shook my hand after a meeting at which Jack Robinson, Rita Milton, Donald Rooum, Philip Sansom and I had spoken. Shaking my hand he just said "Thank you"; as my contribution had, I faintly recollect, been pretty slight and very minor in such company, I was a bit non-plussed.

Arthur Uloth and Peter Turner are, of course, two other stalwarts and I suppose Nicolas Walter's part of the same crowd. Peter Turner's the syndicalist fifth columnist in Freedom's midst but the cynics think he's well under control, Arthur's the wide-ranging liberal and more of Nick Walter later.

So what's wrong? You may well ask. Perhaps it's concentrated in this: - During the time I've written for Freedom, at times from

Rhodesia when I did so at some personal risk, also as Kali and other pseudonyms whilst a community relations officer prejudicing my employment, always as a person prepared to criticise or praise fellow anarchists and willing to question anarchic conventional wisdom, over this period now amounting to fifteen years I've never been asked if I'd like to help edit the paper. Now, I would have refused such an offer in any case and before refusing would have asked a lot of pertinent questions; if I'd been an editor I'd have dissented from allowing Jack Robinson's views on the Angry Brigade to be printed when they were and would have insisted on cutting some of Nick Walter's writing on the same matter. Indeed I have been shocked by reading a letter published in the American anarchist paper Match! from Freedom's editors which in one sentence claims it does not print abusive letters and in another with no evidence, and groundlessly, abuses those in Britain who are supposedly getting young people sent to jail. Incidentally Freedom's editors claim they have received little criticism for their appalling record on the Angry Brigade whilst in Freedom (9.12.72) they write of "many comrades" annoyed by the so-called critical support shown by Freedom for the Stoke Newington Eight. As regards abuse in Freedom M.C. was able to abuse this writer in its columns recently without hindrance - although I would not personally object to being abused since it tends to discredit the other party.

During the time I've been associated with Freedom I've seen editors come and go - one or two recently very rapidly whose contribution to the paper is perhaps best described as brief. When it is realised that such editors

can turn down articles from regular contributors to Freedom I think it would be unimaginative to ignore the possibility of resentment.

Now, to avoid misunderstanding let me be quite clear: (a) I do not want to be an editor of Freedom and am not writing this because of some personal grudge. (b) My contribution is by no means immense and consists almost entirely of writing articles; I've seldom been to meetings or conferences. What I do maintain is that a paper like Freedom should have at least enquired, at some stage, about how I'd feel about being an editor simply from the point of view of the paper's development.

This point I am making is important because it does not just apply to me but to quite a number of other comrades and it lends credence to the view that Freedom is run by an elite of "special people" who are rather above the average throng of rank and file anarchists.

This I deplore, since my place is always with the rank and file and I dislike all those who set themselves up as being superior. I recall a disagreement with Vero Richards about Freedom being called the anarchist weekly, since there are other weeklies even if not in the English language.

Recently Freedom has completely alienated a fair section of active anarchists in Britain, mostly young, mostly working class, who have established a number of periodicals: Black Flag, Libertarian Struggle, Black and Red Outlook, Inside Story, Anarchy - all libertarian, none friendly to Freedom and it is most encouraging to have anarchist views available from a number of sources. Yet these events have largely occurred as a reaction from Freedom because the paper was failing the anarchist movement.

In the last few months Freedom has taken to publishing letters which other papers have chosen not to print - one which Time Out in fact used and a telephone call would have established that they were going to do so. It is worth mentioning because if anyone collected together the letters not published by Freedom it would take several volumes to facilitate publication. It is not my practice to keep copies of letters very often but I can remember three particular times when Freedom has not published letters of mine which has caused

some consternation on my part. Both Jack Robinson's articles on the Angry Brigade, which between them were possibly the most disgraceful writings ever attributed to an anarchist in Britain, received replies from my pen. Neither appeared, but I was allowed to criticise Nick Walter whose views the editors of Freedom share as they publicly state in their letter to Match! Nick's articles never sank to Robinson's level but whilst Nick has disclaimed any association with Robinson's pieces he has failed to do more. The Guardian published a vehement attack on an editorial in their paper about the Angry Brigade by Nick - "Once again the Guardian has disgraced itself..." - strong words which the Guardian fairly published; milder criticism of Freedom editorials has bitten the dust many times.

The third example of Freedom's non-publication consists of a reply to N.W.'s claim that he had criticised the Angry Brigade but had never attacked those standing trial as the Stoke Newington Eight. Nick, who was once among those not wholly dissociated from the Angry Young Men and whose powers of memory after imbibing alcohol leave something to be desired, is a very confused individual. Trialists at the Stoke Newington trial expressed sympathy with the AB, in the public mind (rightly or wrongly) they were seen as the Angry Brigade and the position of N.W. and Freedom subverted the spirit of those who were supporting people faced with 15 or 20 years in prison if convicted. Whilst this sniping was going on Freedom claimed to be assisting the Stoke Newington Defence Committee. In order that in the future and internationally today anarchists shall know that Freedom has been discredited

within the anarchist movement we must write these words and publish them.

I have said little of Jack Robinson and his companion Mary Canipa but I've seen Jack carting Freedom around London for many a year and I know that to him anarchism is a vision and his entire life. But his tolerance of those he considers "the enemies of anarchism" is not great - I suppose if such people were enemies this would not be surprising; what is surprising rather is the use of such a description.

So, is Freedom run by an elite who are out of touch and steadily grinding to a halt? Is the initiative of anarchism in Britain passing away from Freedom to a number of other sources? I'd say "yes" to both those questions. In the editorial celebration of the so-called 70 years of Freedom Press in 1956 the editorial in rebutting George Woodcock's defeatism quotes a paragraph from Herbert Read's Anarchy and Order in which Read refers to his early essays: "I have not attempted to give an air of caution to the impetuous voice of youth. Indeed, I now envy those generous occasions". The editorial asks "Is the judgement of middle age all that much more reliable and objective than the 'apocalyptic enthusiasm' of one's youth?"

I have one final question. Should the energies and finances of anarchists be now devoted to building the influence of the libertarian journals other than Freedom? I hope I've shown that it is not bitterness, personal grudge or dislike that leads me to answer in the affirmative, but an awareness of the requirements of the future.

Jerry Westall



The following letter from the editors of the Anarchist weekly newspaper FREEDOM, is a reply which had been solicited by THE MATCH concerning certain allegations being made by Marcus Graham. Specifically those allegations were:

- (1) That Freedom Press had attacked the defendants just as the latter were about to go to trial,
- (2) That the editors of FREEDOM supported such an attack.
- (3) That FREEDOM had suppressed all

protests over their "attack".

(4) That the British authorities prosecuting the case were able to "use" the FREEDOM article "against" the accused, in some inexplicable way,

(5) That because the defendants were on trial, this was ipso facto cause to believe that they actually had carried out the bombings with which they were accused, and therefore, cause to proclaim them "heroes".

The statement by the FREEDOM editors corroborates entirely our belief that the attack on FREEDOM by Marcus Graham was based upon fanciful or faulty appraisal of the facts, and that therefore THE MATCH was in every way justified in declining to print the unsubstantiated and baseless attack.

FREEDOM PRESS' STATEMENT

Editor:

In view of the attacks upon us that are being made in the United States the editors of FREEDOM wish to make it clear that:

1) In the April 22nd issue, in the article on the Angry Brigade by Nicolas Walter, to which exception has been taken, the point was made by the writer, with which the editors concur, that the campaign of bombing did harm rather than good.

"It can surely be argued," wrote N. W., "that the Angry Brigade, far from representing (let alone somehow being) the movement, has actually alienated itself from the movement by its methods, and has indeed injured the movement by opening it up to internal distrust and division and to external pressure and persecution."

There is no suggestion that the Stoke Newington Eight were members of the Angry Brigade however.

2) When a writer in FREEDOM puts his name, pseudonym, or initials at the bottom of his article it means he takes responsibility for it. Only unsigned articles represent the views of the editors as a group, and such articles are rare. Nevertheless the editors do, in this case, share the views of N. W.

3) We have not had "numerous" letters of protest as a result of the 22nd of April article.

We do make a point of printing critical letters, unless they are repetitive (and liable to bore our readers) or personally abusive. If this is doubted let the doubter go through the back numbers of our paper, and he will see quite a number of such letters. But with regard to N. W.'s article we received few protests and can only conclude that most readers agreed with N. W., or did not feel strongly enough about it to write in.

4) So far as we know the government prosecution made no use of the 22nd of April article, nor do we see how they could.

5) The defendants were brave. They did not claim to be heroes. They claimed that they were innocent. We believe they were arrested because of their associations, Stuart Christie because of his Spanish exploit many years ago, not because of anything they did. The condemnation of four and the acquittal of four was purely arbitrary. The idea was to frighten people away from revolutionary ideas.

One cannot claim they were heroes because they sought to resist the State with violence, if in fact they did nothing of the kind.

We believe that today there is a romantic cult of violence developing on the Left, as well as on the Right. We fear lest it claim more victims. But perhaps it is heroes and martyrs that the romantics want. If so we feel that it is impossible to condemn too strongly the wicked irresponsibility of these people who are encouraging this cult (often they are quite old, interestingly enough), and getting young people sent to jail.

THE FREEDOM EDITORS

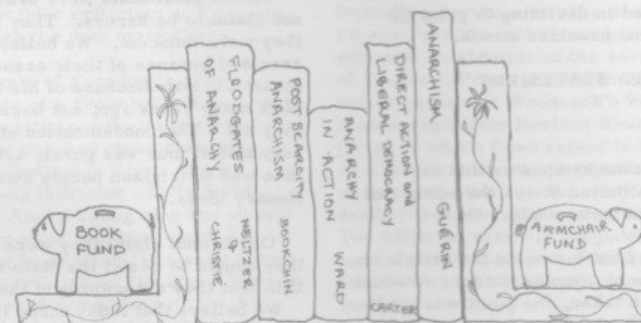
Jack Robinson Peter Turner John Brent

The above letter from the editors of Freedom was printed by The Match, an anarchist paper in the States. Previous to printing this letter The Match had printed a full page editorial in reply to Marcus Graham's letter.

Along with everybody else in the movement, I don't know what Marcus Graham wrote in his letter, because the Match editorial and Freedom's letter are replies to a letter WHICH THEY HAVE NEVER PUBLISHED. I suppose it is easier to attack ideas which you do not allow anybody to hear first hand.

Five of the most relevant writings to what might be termed Post-68 Anarchism are reviewed below. There have been other books which are not mentioned but those below cover between them areas of anarchist thought which are grappling with anarchism here and now, rather than with Spain thirty years ago or Russia sixty years ago (although this is not to de-cry such subjects). The contention of anarchists is that we not only make a meaningful impact on the world but that our analysis is the only one to get to those core subjects of libertarian thought: the State and

individual freedom, coupled with the organisation of collective life which eschews authoritarian methods of behaviour. April Carter's pacifism, Colin Ward's wide ranging libertarianism, Guerin's involvement with organisational questions, Bookchin's seminal and daring revolutionary ecology, Meltzer and Christie's gut anarchism - they all have their contribution to make. Bookchin's *Post Scarcity Anarchism* is probably the most brilliant among them but to obtain a flavour of Anarchy today one needs to read them all.



Anarchy in Action (Allen & Unwin £1.75) by Colin Ward

The editor of the "old *Anarchy*" for ten years, Colin Ward, has collected together a number of his articles along with some which he previously wrote for *Freedom*. It is a useful book which justifies the anarchist credo in terms of references to many sources, a good number non-anarchist, and which points to the desirability of organising society without authority.

A number of vital areas are covered and the sections on planning, housing, school and play are particularly good. However, there is a very bad omission in the lack of a discussion on violence/non-violence and the class struggle which is all the more striking for the obvious regard shown for presenting anarchism as a tenable philosophy for the present world. Albert Meltzer and Stuart Christie at least tackle these issues in their book *Floodgates of Anarchy* (Sphere 35p), which represents the guts of anarchism as Colin Ward represents the cerebral lobes. It would be

well worthwhile to use *Anarchy in Action* alongside *Floodgates of Anarchy* for they are the bedrock of much anarchist post-68 theory.

Colin Ward, perhaps lacking the erudition of Kropotkin, the fire of Bakunin or the incisive wisdom of Malatesta, does none the less provide a substantial source for the future development of modern anarchism. The tradition of British libertarian thought that has dwelt on the twin attributes of Herbert Read and Alex Comfort is given a jolt which brings our subject down to earth and gains an air of practical reality that is good to see. We should not underestimate the hard work and value of such an exercise.

Personally I don't think either Colin Ward's book or the Meltzer/Christie one are as outstanding as Read's *Anarchy or Order* essays or Comfort's *Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State* but they are important to British anarchism and deserve to be widely read.

Jerry Westall

Direct Action and Liberal Democracy
(Routledge & Kegan Paul £1.40) by April
Carter.

April Carter, whose earlier book The Political Theory of Anarchism was a competent achievement, has not accomplished a similar target with this long diatribe on the argument for non-violent direct action. Like many pacifists she adopts a position on direct action which ensures the minimum of middle-class criticism. Although direct action "must be distinguished from constitutional and parliamentary styles of activity" and the major influence is deemed to be anarcho-syndicalism it has nothing to do with "armed insurrection" and sabotage is "a borderline case". April Carter is honest enough to admit "the reasons for adopting non-violence can stem from weakness and an accompanying prudence; from a desire to prove respectability and win liberal sympathy; from a concern to tone down the militance of direct action in order to placate public opinion". The feeling that Ms Carter looked into the mirror as she wrote those words is unmistakable as one picks a path between the Black Panthers, student activists and the Angry Brigade. The "AB in Britain, Baader-Meinhoff in Germany are more reminiscent of the anarchist 'propaganda by deed' than of a genuine guerrilla movement" and guerrilla warfare also is not the sort of direct action Ms Carter includes in her definition of the term.

Extraordinary as it may seem for someone who states that "the anarchist and syndicalist traditions are perhaps the earliest, but most continuously significant, contribution to the present theory of direct action" there is not one mention of anarcho-syndicalism in Spain and although condemnation abounds for Black Power tacticians there is no mention of resistance by direct action in Southern Africa. April Carter is content to comment that "terror" is "the psychological counterpart of violent action" - whatever that means and seems to advocate the unarmed slaughter at Sharpeville as it won so much sympathy for the African nationalist cause.

Jerry Westall

Anarchism (Monthly Review Press £1.10) by
Daniel Guérin, introduction by Noah Chomsky

This book is well worth reading, probably the best of the books titled Anarchy or Anarchism. As the author claims in the preface "the reader will be presented in turn with the main constructive themes of anarchism and not with personalities". In fact the book is really in two main parts, the first a study of the constructive themes, the theory and basis of anarchism. He quotes directly from Proudhon, Bakunin, Stirner, Malatesta, Voline and Santillan. The second the practice: the Russian Revolution 1917, Italy after 1918, the Spanish Revolution 1936.

The book starts with the statement that all anarchists are socialists but all socialists are not anarchists. Guérin himself obviously prefers the term libertarian socialist to anarchist as it is far more self-explanatory. He keeps the issues clear and unmuddled, by concentrating on the main themes and not getting sidetracked by the personalities thus the message comes across clearly. One is always aware the basic choice is Libertarian or Authoritarian. One the status quo, the other the alternative.

Anarchism makes many points that are important in today's struggle but above all the one that comes over clearer than the others is the importance of remembering the socialist part of anarchism. The necessity of being active within the class struggle, within the area now covered by the trade unions and the CP. In a very powerfully argued section of the book, Guérin points out that when first divorced from the working class, anarchism split into cliques and even accused Bakunin of having been "too coloured by Marxism". He shows clearly that when anarchism has been involved with the mass working class movements, its words and theory have been accepted and always led into a mass upsurge of revolutionary spirit. However today the fact is that all trade unions represent authoritarian organisation; the factory worker of today is faced by authoritarian organisation at every turn, the firm, the union, the CP etc. No alternative is in sight. The book is involved throughout with workers' control (management/councils).

There is no doubt that today workers' participation is a popular issue, the Labour

Party, the Liberal Party, etc. all give it lip service, but without a libertarian structure, the authoritarian will corrupt even workers' control until it is no more revolutionary than the annual wage demand and strike.

In case I have given a too one-sided look at Guérin's book, it is worth saying he has a constructive look at Stirner, putting him in context. Stirner does not go uncriticised for his excesses, but he shows Stirner to be the great thinker he undoubtedly was, and sums Stirner up by saying "his entire work was a search for a synthesis, or rather an 'equilibrium' between concern for the individual and the interests of society, between individual power and collective power".

His ending on workers' control in Algeria and Yugoslavia was I thought optimistic and unconvincing.

As an introduction to anarchism, there is in my opinion no better book; as a guide or a book to remind you of the basics it is well worth the effort of reading.

Floodgates of Anarchy (Sphere Books 35p), by Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer

There are a great many books on socialism and anarchism which are totally unreadable; many authors conceal their meaning as if they were writing in code to avoid persecution by the authorities, and maybe in a sense they are. When they write on marxism they claim to be giving a programme for the working class, written in language no worker could understand - and which he would reject if he did. In a sense such authors aim at a dictatorship by the educated and some claim that because the worker could not read or write in the language of the economists he cannot by himself obtain his liberation.

When it comes to anarchism the tendency is to write in grand oratorical phrases (certainly among Spanish writers) which can be understood well enough, but have the merit of meaning precisely nothing.

The "classical" anarchist writers wrote simply enough about the problems of socialism, but there is very little one can think of

written in the language of today about the problems of today to explain anarchism, its relevance and how it can be achieved.

This is done in Floodgates of Anarchy by Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer (also appearing in Spanish with the title Anarquismo y lucha de clases - Anarchism and Class Struggle) which not only lucidly explains anarchism, but casts a clear light on other political views.

Many of the problems of revolution can be evaded by speaking in the language of economics or of idealism. By writing in the language of everyday life, they have produced a book eminently readable and one that carries a punch. The chapter on "Violence and Terrorism" should sweep away a lot of cobwebs - how many times do we hear "violence" denounced when it is clear that what is denounced is only "the violence the State deplures" and not the violence the State practises!

In the book Christie and Meltzer are sometimes witty, sometimes bitter, sometimes sarcastic - but they are always honest with their readers, hiding nothing behind obscure language, but ruthlessly analysing class society and giving an uncompromising anarchist answer. I have worked with both comrades in the Anarchist Black Cross since my release from prison (and knew Christie even before then) and I may be prejudiced... but I also know the forceful impact this book has had on many who have read nothing else except marxist mystification or libertarian flights of oratory, and been repelled by the former and not well satisfied by the latter. They answer too what one should ask of a writer: that he does not shrink in life from the views he puts on paper.

Miguel Garcia

Post Scarcity Anarchism (Ramparts Press, San Francisco, 1971, paperback £1.50), by Murray Bookchin. Including "Listen Marxist!", "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought", and other essays on the abolition of power.

This book like most of the relevant literature on today's problems comes from America and

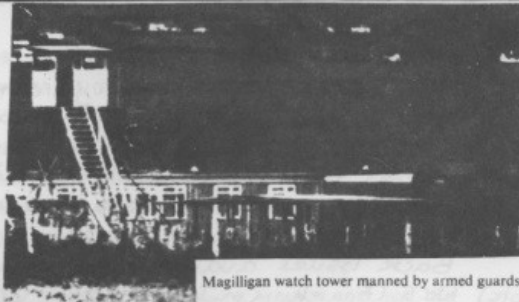
the "American Experience"; as Bookchin says "the centre of the social crisis in the late twentieth century is the United States ... Here, too, is the centre of the world counter-revolution - and the centre of the social revolution that can overthrow hierarchical society as a world-historical system."

The book gives a vision of future society based on criticisms of today's society and the demands of youth; it could be called Utopian. It adds much to revolutionary theory and praxis, but as Bookchin says "what justifies my Utopian emphasis is the nearly total

lack of material on the potentialities of our time." Though a lot of the essays have been available in England individually, they combine together to fill, or start to fill, that gap. The book should not be read as a series of essays but as an entirety, for that is what it is. I have one criticism, and that is his faith in the affinity group as now practised.

The book is easily the most important, relevant and futuristic reviewed in this section, and the issues raised deserve far more discussion than they have had. R.E.

REVIEW



Magilligan watch tower manned by armed guards.

'Internment!' (Anvil Books 75p distributed by Rising Free, 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1) by John McGuffin

This is both a personal experience of internment in Northern Ireland and a useful historical resume of the use of internment throughout Ireland over the last fifty years. We have also detailed records of escapes from prison by Irish nationalists and some extremely interesting and valuable source material which should be essential reference to any objective account of modern Irish history. Finally come a description of the Civil Resistance movement in Northern Ireland, accounts of the use of torture, devastating analysis of the pathetic Compton report on the torture allegations, a withering look at the media and last of all a half attempt to present the picture at the time of writing (March 1973).

Throughout the reading of the book one is obliged to keep a finger in the author's very extensive notes and it is a most irritating feature of the book as the notes are quite essential to the passage of the book. I'm

sure many notes could have been satisfactorily integrated into the book and footnotes might have then been added on the actual page to which they referred.

Some sections of the narrative are outstandingly good, notably the first chapter where John McGuffin describes his own arrest and detention without trial, and the description of the Civil Resistance movement, with the exposé of the Compton report being quite brilliant. Other chapters tend to bore simply by the relation of lists of names and escapes along the lines of any war book. (To those who argue that there is a war I'd agree but I don't think war is very interesting.)

That said, anarchists should read this book. It is the nearest we have to a libertarian Irish voice that knows what's going on and understands the anarchist analysis of society. John McGuffin used to write for Freedom before the utterly appalling H* took over so he has the appeal of being sensitive to issues we consider important. His own views and proposals often come across as near asides thus it has been wrongly stated that the book

lacks practical proposals since there is no manifesto or programme that clearly sets out a "line". But in the chapter on the rent and rate strikes the author mentions: "The resistance campaign did not end internment, but it helped to bring down Stormont. Even more important, with its resistance councils it gave many people, for the first time in their lives, the chance to see that they could 'seize the time'; that they could exercise a very real measure of control over their jobs, their streets, their areas". Again on the media McGuffin writes: "Unless we are satisfied with the system today, so accurately described by Marcuse as 'repressive tolerance', we must fight strenuously to wrest control of

the information centres from the hands of the personally-motivated few and place them firmly at the disposal of all".

It has been said that the British Army in Ulster is using the experience as a training ground for what Kitson predicts is to be a revolutionary situation in Britain in 1975-80. Whether this is fantasy or not John McGuffin's book enables us also to learn from the experiences of Northern Ireland in preparation for any future struggles.

Jerry Westall

Dear subscriber / mad anarchist / armchair revolutionary / comrade / sister / brother / agent provocateur / roy creamer / innocent bystander ;
(please delete those not applicable)

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We are a collective who publish Anarchy, and individually we are involved in many other activities; we do the typesetting, layout, platemaking and printing ourselves and we even lick the stamps for you.

During the last 12 months we have had a cartilage operation, jaundice, various viruses, 2 pregnancies and a couple of trials - to those who slam us for our infrequency we say 'Don't Moan - Organise!' we gladly accept help of any kind.

We have meetings most Thursday evenings. If any of you live near enough and can pass the perilous proficiency test that tries your skill, courage, and pure cunning, to see if you will make a worthy member of the Anarchy Collective - why don't you write and find out when the next meeting is..?

THE ANARCHY COLLECTIVE X



Attacking a person they have got isolated inside one of their prisons is another of their favourites in this line. They can move in fourteen or fifteen to one if the prisoner is over five foot.

Above is a picture of O'Donovan Rossa, whom they kept in chains so that he had to lap his bread and skilly off the floor in Chatham Gaol.

Receiving 'the treatment' at the moment are Dolores Price, Hugh Feeney, Marion Price and Gerard Kelly. These four have been on hunger strike since the 14th of November, demanding transfer to prisons in the North of Ireland, in order to serve their life sentences near their families in Belfast.

All four are seriously ill. Hugh Feeney has had a heart attack and his handwriting is so weak as to be almost unreadable. So not being in too good health Her Majesties Government squares up to the challenge and is force feeding them. This is not a manouever carried out in order to save their lives or improve their health, there are easier ways to do that.

Force feeding is a method of torture aimed at breaking you, if it does not kill you, as it killed Thomas Ashe in the Mater Hospital, Dublin in September 1917. (After which the British Government gave up force feeding hunger strikers.)

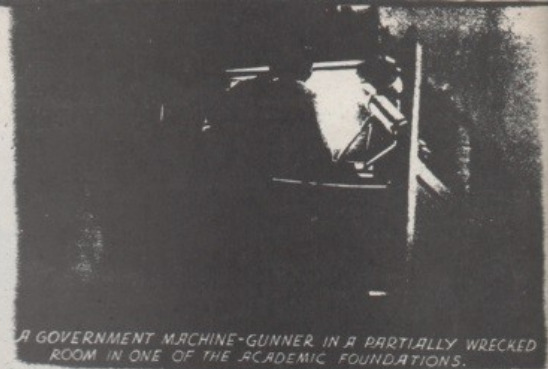
Force feeding is done by clamping your jaws open and pushing a thick rubber pipe down your throat, then pouring liquid down it directly into your stomach. Most people are then immediately sick, losing the food just poured in, and endangering your life as you have a tube down your throat and are being held down by warders.

A doctor oversees this whole procedure, a member of the same profession who does not mind experimenting on reasonably healthy adults, but much prefers to experiment on mentally ill children in institutions, old people in geriatric hospitals or people ill with chronic and fatal diseases.

TO KNOW THE ENEMY IS TO HATE THEM.



ONE OF THE NEW BUILDINGS IN THE UNIVERSITY CITY, MADRID, SHOWING THE EFFECTS OF RIFLE AND SHELL FIRE.



A GOVERNMENT MACHINE-GUNNER IN A PARTIALLY WRECKED ROOM IN ONE OF THE ACADEMIC FOUNDATIONS.



REFUGEES, WITH THEIR BELONGINGS, OUTSIDE A BUILDING WRECKED BY BOMBARDMENT.



A MACHINE-GUN CREW IN ACTION; WITH NUMEROUS AMMUNITION BOXES STACKED IN THE FOREGROUND.



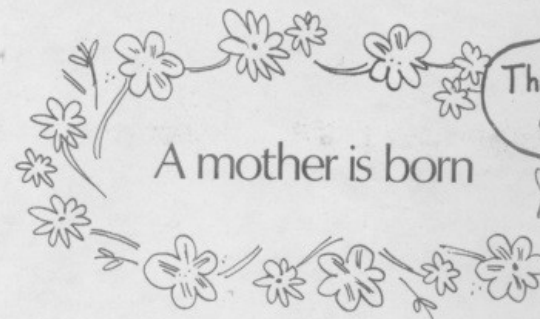
QUARTERS IN A SCIENCE LABORATORY; WITH RATIONS AND PERSONAL EFFECTS ARRANGED AMONG THE APPARATUS.

ANARCHY

JESUS
CHRIST!

I NEED WASHING,
CHANGING, FEEDING,
BURPING, CUDDLING
AND CARE 24 HOURS
A DAY

20p
or
50c



A mother is born

There's one born
every minute!



Sod that, I'm going
to be a plumber!



DOLLY PRAM
that turns every
little girl into a
little mother

TRY TELLING
THAT to the
social security
and see what
you get..



Trufood costs more
because we feel your baby
is worth our extra care...
Don't you?



... but we all know there
can be no true happiness
under capitalism

Cow and Gate.
For contented fathers.

ANARCHY

NO 13

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THE BATTERED LIVES

SYNDROME

BATTERED babies, battered wives... these are the extremes of the ocean of misery that characterizes life in this society, as in any society based on inequality. For every case that reaches tragic proportions and gets headlines there are how many 'problem families'? And for every 'problem family' there are how many people who avoid the notice of social workers but live under extreme stress every day? - people with unhappy marriages, or children whose parents' rejection of them is too subtle to be defined as cruelty or neglect.

These troubles are created by the ruling class, which profits from

- (1) economic conditions which create personal misery;
- (2) the misery itself, which keeps the victims too unhealthy to fight effectively;
- (3) the intimidation of people who might otherwise rebel, by the methods used in pretending to deal with the misery, notably imprisonment of children and of the homeless.

After the Maria Colwell case, a lecturer in social work wrote to the Guardian: 'The reaction to the circumstances of Maria Colwell's death, the desire for the reform of adoption law (making it easier for the long-term removal of children from the natural parents) and Sir Keith Joseph's and Dr. Mia Pringle's attitude to the so-called cycle of deprivation, all exhibit a possibly dangerous trend in social policy', specifically 'the increased possibility of stigmatising a much

wider range of parents as unfit or inadequate and a concentration on the psycho-pathology of parents to the neglect of broader social and economic factors which influence family functioning' and 'the dangers to civil liberty as increasingly large numbers of parents are stamped as needing semi-permanent supervision'.

Perhaps like other working-class and/or unconventional people, I also felt uneasy when reading articles on the Colwell case, or on adoption. But not being a lecturer in social work I was afraid to trust this uneasiness, especially since the articles implied that no class prejudice was involved; that these things could happen to rich and poor alike; that social workers and judges are only concerned with people's psychology and the welfare of the children. (The welfare of the children was the argument used by a judge who deprived a natural mother of the right even to visit her child on the word of the foster parents that the visits were 'upsetting'. I wonder how hard the foster parents worked to ensure that this was so.) My instinct was that the attitudes shown in these cases added up to an anti-working-class witch-hunt.

In the Colwell inquiry the term 'witch-hunt' was used regarding the blame attached to the social worker handling the case. But the real object of blame was the unrespectable working class: all that section of it who aren't contenders for the 50-years-of-service award or the Mrs Britain title. The

social worker was merely blamed for not spotting the trouble in time, and of course a crew of her colleagues wrote in to defend her by whining about their terrible 'casework loads': o how they suffer in the course of helping us. The newspapers created an image of stupid, drunken, irresponsible proles who have to be kept an eye on. It was mentioned that Maria was often late for school, that she had several times been treated for diarrhoea, that she wet the bed when returning from visits to her foster parents. This frightened me because all those things (only substituting 'father' for 'foster parents') are true of my son, and I know he has emotional problems. I became concerned about his cleanliness and punctuality at nursery school - anything to avoid their labelling us a problem family any more than they already did.

Even some soft cops themselves, such as this Guardian correspondent, and the 'radical social workers' outfit, Case Con, recognise the deficiencies of the state's individual psychology approach. The Guardian writer takes the usual line of those who are relatively humanitarian and suggests some material causes such as bad housing - homelessness can literally drive people insane; but he overlooks the thing which really destroys people, and which lies behind the material deprivations as well - lack of autonomy. (Like anyone of his class, he's also unaware that the state doesn't want to solve these problems.) He thinks that more supportive behaviour on the part of the social services might help. But social workers can only do harm because they represent more control over people besides that imposed by other parts of capitalist society. However kindly they may feel, however much they may aim at 'helping others to help themselves', any suggestion from them can be justly construed as an order backed by a threat, because they have coercive powers.

Working-class people are slaves. I remember an art teacher's comment that in ancient Egypt 'if you were a common man your life wasn't worth a nickel' and I wonder how much this has changed. People have to be wage-slaves to get those few commodities that the employers' market permits them.

Sometimes these don't even include housing or enough food, so they have to become direct prisoners of the state and its means-tested benefits. Nothing is more destructive of personality than slavery. To quote a Case-Con statement: 'Social work practice maintains important aspects of this (individualistic) ideology, perpetuating the myth of the individual being totally responsible for his/her own actions and ideas, whereas in reality the individual is denied the opportunity to achieve this.' But even a Case-Con member does harm by being a social worker, especially if she/he accepts a state job. The contact with people who have coercive powers, whether they use them or not, is enough to terrify and humiliate social-work 'clients' and thus lessen their ability to cope.

Consider the three situations of baby-battering, wife-battering, and adoption.

In one of the first such cases, a little girl, according to the newspaper report, was sent to collect the family's benefit and when she brought it home and it was less than expected, her stepfather flew into a rage and beat her to death. The mother was present and apparently neither called the police nor offered violent resistance. The man's reaction was abnormal; many people have been faced with such a situation without killing anyone; but who knows how many previous defeats and anxieties had preceded this last straw? He didn't kill her because the benefit was too small and he blamed her for it; but because he had to be collecting 'benefit' at all and couldn't get his own and the family's substance as men are expected to do. The passive mother didn't realize how far his rage would go until it was too late, and women are trained to feel helpless in the presence of violence. It's easy to swear that you would act differently, but how do you know you would?

In another case, a man killed his baby when he came home and found all the power cut off for non-payment.

A letter to an advice column from a mother who said she loved her baby but was periodically overcome by impulses to hurt it, and had hit it a few times, contained the statement 'Maybe it's because I had to get

married on account of him.' Why should a woman have to get married to have a child; why should that be the only alternative to overwork on the one hand or dependency on the other, with poverty either way?

A newspaper report on a medical conference investigating baby-battering observed 'Many of the cases involved working mothers.' This would be interpreted by conservatives as evidence that women should be housewives, but that conclusion wouldn't follow if working mothers didn't have to make 4 journeys a day, do without leisure, feel inadequate because the house isn't clean, and on top of this feel guilty about working at all.

Mothers in Action sent round a circular to members saying that the pressures on unsupported mothers might lead to child-abuse and encouraging them to talk about it and seek help. By 'help', unfortunately, they meant state counselling. The trouble is that all women partially hate their children because child-raising imposes such a terrible choice in this society, between dependency or a hopeless exhausting struggle to survive. We're not allowed to give our children the joyous love that comes from freedom and reasonable security. To a lesser extent this applies to men also: they too are tied to a dreary domestic scene and made to feel inadequate because they can't be better 'providers' - when they're in no position to do any active providing at all; only to obey the bosses who provide through them.

In a case where a mother lost patience and shoved a dummy into a baby's mouth, and it died before an operation could be performed, the mother was acquitted and the judge remarked that she was 'unstable and immature'. The newspaper report said that the father didn't want the child and had urged his wife to have it adopted. She should have felt free to leave a man with such an attitude, but of course women can't survive that way. How can you expect people to be stable when their life situation is unhappy and so inherently unstable; or to be mature when they have to play the role of children all their lives, vis-à-vis employers, husbands, bureaucrats?

The old moralistic words have been replaced by pseudo-scientific ones like

unstable, immature and inadequate. We're all inadequate when our power to act is denied fulfilment.

Wife-battering has recently been in the news as the latest social problem for liberals to wring their hands about, and charitable centres have been set up to help the victims and their children. But a woman in any unhappy relationship should be able to pack her suitcase, pick up her kids, and leave, without facing destitution and homelessness and having to become an object of charity. (Where the man wants custody it should be settled privately, perhaps with the help of more objective friends, not by a judge.) That she can't is the real disgrace, not just the extreme abuses of her situation. Social workers and liberals won't recognise this; they still regard marriage or its imitator, cohabitation, as the norm. Nowadays the ruling class even gives fashionable approval to group sex or open marriage. The one thing which isn't contemplated is freedom for women or men to bring up kids on their own - an arrangement which rejects marriage rather than merely varying it. (It's no use saying 'If you want to be free, don't have kids.' That's just accepting the status quo.)

Liverpool Council won't give housing priority to battered wives because it doesn't want to be 'involved in marriage breakdown'. Someone has to be murdered before people will admit that the sacred institution has failed. So besides the loss of home and income and dignity, the battered wife has to feel that somehow she is to blame for being a failure at marriage, if only by picking such a bad husband. Since she can't comfortably leave him anyway, every effort is made to patch up the so-called marriage once the acute crisis is over. It's like trying to get a prisoner to have a good relationship with the guard.

I wonder how many unions would last long if the financial obstacles to the woman's leaving were removed. I've read of a woman taking her baby and running out into the snow because her husband had installed his mistress in the house and she couldn't stand it any longer; a friend of mine and her 3-year-old were walking the streets looking for a flat one Christmas day because the father wanted



them to leave - Charles Dickens, where are you? The house or flat is usually in the man's name, and men are adept at finding reasons why they should stay in it while the mother and child(ren) get out, when the relationship breaks up. When you think of the children who endure years of misery and even violence because of these economic problems, the expression 'staying together for the sake of the children' really seems a sick joke.

A new hostel for battered wives has been opened in Glasgow and been immediately overwhelmed with customers. If the state wants to help why doesn't it kick violent men out of their homes and put them in hostels? Wife-beating, it seems, is the only crime for which the victim goes to prison.

Of course, it's only technically a crime: most women don't press charges because they know perfectly well that men, and particularly the sort who become policemen, approve of this crime. Even in those extreme and easy-to-prove cases where they have a hope of winning, bringing a charge won't remove the immediate pressure. Only readily available, private accommodation (not in workhouses), plus the chance to earn a living, will do that.

As an anarchist I don't advocate prosecution, but point out that this is just another item on the list of state hypocrisies about violence.

Adoption. The Children's Bill was dropped when Parliament was recalled: it may appear again and summarizes an anti-natural-parents trend in court cases and social work policy. This bill makes it possible for the authorities to assume parental rights over kids who have been in care 3 years; makes it harder for single mothers to adopt their own children; and weights adoption and fostering procedures in favour of adoptive rather than natural parents. This sounds to some people OK, particularly if they've been reading the newspaper sob stories about kids wrenched from adoptive households to be returned to natural mothers (who are always subtly depicted as irresponsible and capricious) - somehow you don't see photographs of natural parents and their kids screaming and collapsing when separated. But those people forget that most natural parents in these cases are working-class and/or unmarried and have given up the children under pressure.

Shirley Frost writing in Freedom says 'Even some Case-Con social workers who are supposed to be radical, left-wing, etc., and have supported housing struggles, think adoption a good thing. One social worker has said she supports anything that "smashes the family". She should start with the families of well-to-do suburbanites, not the families who have already been mercilessly crushed by low incomes, housing shortage and bourgeois morality.' Who does that social worker think gets to adopt kids, anyway? Communes? Gay couples?

The bill is an anti-working-class, anti-women's rights, pro-marriage measure. How smug these adoptive parents are. How kind it was of them to give good homes to these poor neglected little bastards. Doesn't such a parent realize that she or he is no different from the people who buy babies from starving families in the streets of Naples? It would be all right if their motive was to get the kids out of institutions, but then they should do all they can legally and financially to restore the kid to its natural parent(s), unless the latter are both dead or really don't want it. Do adoptive parents imagine that many parents want to give up a child, or would do so except in desperate circumstances or under intimidating pressure from social workers? We're assured that all the state cares about is the welfare of children. If that were so, it would

do away with the conditions which cause them to be parted from their natural parents in the first place.

Even in those cases where parents don't want their children the state would rather keep them in institutions than find homes for them. In 'Paid Servant', Edward Braithwaite describes his experiences as a social worker in the field of child care, a job he was offered on the theory that his knowledge of the black community would be useful. The book centres round his efforts to place a mulatto child; in this case, the mother really didn't want it. He found one family after another which seemed suitable, but his bosses kept creating objections and delays and it was a long time before the child was placed. He tells us that the social-work pigs, while claiming it's difficult to place black children, do all they can to discourage prospective adopters by asking if they're aware of the problems they might face and if not, obligingly providing a long list. In one case a white family was warned that if they took in a little black boy there might be trouble with his white half-sisters when he reached adolescence! Shirley Frost's article mentions that one quarter of kids in care are West Indian - which in itself tells you that family breakup is a socio-economic, not a psychological, problem.

Middlesex Polytechnic

MA Deviancy and Social Policy

Social Science Graduates can apply now for this two year part-time course which includes study in deviancy theory, social problems, social control, and social policy. Graduates not holding degrees in the Social Sciences and individuals with acceptable professional qualifications may proceed to the MA after a qualifying course. The MA course starts in October and is intended for both academics and practitioners with a real concern to relate developments in criminology and deviancy theory to practical problems.

Applications and further information from the Admissions Officer, Ref G/3/5, Middlesex Polytechnic, PO Box 40, Enfield, Middlesex EN3 4SF or phone 01-804 8121.

This state which cares so much for the welfare of children runs (among many other such institutions for the homeless) Brighowgate Lodge in Grimsby, where a matron forbade a mother to give a 5-month-old baby a bottle, on the grounds that it was too old for one. The matron gave the child Weetabix instead, and when its brother tried to give it a bottle in secret, she took the bottle away (Women's Voice, Sept.-Oct. '73). But that's an extreme case, apologists for the social services will say: the matron was obviously

unsuitable! Families shouldn't be subject to the whims of state employees, suitable or not.

When people ask for better housing and other state action to keep families together, what they're asking for (whether they know it or not) is not a special favour, that is, intervention into a situation in which it was previously neutral. The state isn't neutral now. All its power stands behind landlords, shopkeepers, employers. It will put you in prison for forcibly resisting violent eviction or for stealing food for your children; thus the employers who provide the necessary money are also sustained. When you ask for action on your side, you're only asking for a slight counterweight to the huge weight of force on the other side.

But anarchists know there's no point in asking for fairness from the ruling class. Its Children's Bill, reeking with concern for the children it has caused to become imprisoned and unloved in its institutions, is part of the rest of its current attack on the paid workers and female sub-workers who keep it rich. The threat to take children can be used against strikers, claimants, squatters, feminists, prisoners' wives and husbands, anyone they want to control or make an example of. People will think 'Better not antagonize the landlord'... 'Don't risk losing your job'... 'Make sure Johnny doesn't play truant'... 'Maybe better get married to be on the safe side - after all, we know it doesn't mean anything'. And when they do take children they won't admit it's an assault; no, they're helping you, they're solving social problems created by your inadequacy. And if you tell them it's the fault of their class they'll say oh no, they know better because of their 'professional training' and their 'experience', the usual emperor's clothes. The only purpose of their training is to convince these pigs that they know something so that they can believe in themselves and mystify their victims; they speak of 'techniques' and 'technical language', of 'fieldwork' as though they were archaeologists, of social 'science'.

The threat to take children may not be part of a conscious conspiracy but results from the effect of reactionary political trends on the naive and mindless types who become

professional social workers.

It's a class matter even in the few cases where the victims are well-to-do people labelled neurotic or whatever. The ruling class stays in power mostly by keeping the workers down but also by distorting its own members' personalities. When the distortion fails, when a rich or middle-class person can't fit in and everything good in her or him turns to destruction and self-destruction, that person is also a victim of the class system.

TWO PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORKERS

(£4,075-£5,425)

to help develop LA and voluntary social services

The first post, based in Edinburgh, is concerned with developing social work services for children including, in the first instance, work to establish methods of social diagnosis and assessment of children's needs. The second, based in Glasgow, is concerned with advising local authorities and voluntary organisations, and contributing to the development of social work services.

The Social Work Services Group carries out the functions of the Secretary of State for Scotland for the development of local authority and voluntary services under the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968.

Candidates, preferably aged 30 or over, must hold a university qualification in Applied Social Studies or an equivalent social work qualification. Both posts require sound relevant experience at a senior level. For the Glasgow post, experience in services for people with physical handicaps would be an advantage. Starting salary will be within the quoted scale according to qualification and experience. Promotion prospects to £6,930. Non-contributory pension scheme.

For full details and an application form (to be returned by 28th March, 1974) write to Scottish Office, Room 230, Personnel Division, 22 Queen Street, Edinburgh, EH2 1LY, quoting G/8586.

SOCIAL WORK SERVICES GROUP
SCOTTISH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Anarchist solutions. We don't object to reforms insofar as they do any good. But the ruling class will never permit any changes which do any good, because only by means which seriously threaten its power could we start to become happier, saner, more loving people. The state wants us to be miserable, twisted, guilt-ridden; too much so to fight; it wants to intimidate us by modern poor laws and child imprisonment. It's the height of naiveté to tell the state, 'These policies do no good; they're psychologically harmful; better to provide houses for the families; can't you see that?' The state can see it and that's exactly why they maintain those policies.

Family problems will be significantly

reduced only in a society operating by voluntary work and free distribution, with no power existing to enforce the exaction of labour, goods or tokens in exchange for access to the means of production or to necessary goods. Then women or men who look after kids won't be marked as non-workers, with child care at best communalized by becoming another function of paid state employees: people won't have to justify parental work by means of tokens proving their usefulness to a boss. Parents will have a choice of how much time to spend child-minding and how much in other work; communal care will be done by people who love kids, not by those who happened to light onto it as an easy-to-obtain sinecure; people will be able to choose what family and sex arrangements they enter into or don't enter into, without fear of economic sanctions. Old and handicapped people will stop being discriminated against and marked as dependents because of the need to obtain money in exchange for work.

Meanwhile, the best way to fight the distress arising from this society's pressures is to fight this society. It's health-giving to play an active role. Don't turn your anger against yourself. The sense of inadequacy of oppressed people, partly because of the sins the rulers find it expedient to ascribe to them - 'If you had any guts you would stop moaning and try to get ahead by hard work', etc. - is one of the state's most powerful weapons. Self-hate is what always causes hatred of the nearest scape-goat, tragically the people we really love. Turn the hate against your enemies. Don't be taken in by 'expert counselling' from the prisoners of babies.

Anarchists don't believe personal problems are unimportant. Personal happiness or unhappiness is the end product of any society; it's where it's at. If you're not happy, what's the point of any form of society? We want a revolution made by human beings, not lantern-jawed heroes: you know the kind of society they'll give you. We hope that anyone with personal problems will contribute her or his experience and strength to our struggle.

Kathy Perlo

WH \oplus KILLED

CARL \oplus TRESCA ?

JUST OVER THIRTY years ago, on the evening of January 11, 1943, two men picked their way along the dimmed-out sidewalk of wartime New York's Fifth Avenue. At exactly twenty minutes to ten, as they were about to step off the curb at the corner of West Fifteenth Street, a short man with a hat pulled over his eyes walked up to them, fired several shots at one of them, and disappeared into the darkness. The man who had been gunned down died almost immediately.

A few seconds after the shooting, Mentz von Erpecom and Otto Kjeld Nantredt, Norwegian Consular officials out strolling, saw a man run across Fifteenth Street and jump into a moving car, a dark Ford sedan. The first Police Department report was that a Chicago newspaperman had been shot "by a person or persons unknown".

Who was the murdered man? Why was he shot? What was the reason? What did he know?



His name was Carlo Tresca. He was born in Italy in 1879. In 1904, he emigrated to the United States. Carlo Tresca was a tall, slender, very handsome man who, by his early thirties, wore a beard to cover a bad scar on the side of his face, which he had received in an attack on him in Pittsburgh.

Tresca was not, however, an ordinary immigrant. He had become an anarchist. And he soon became well-known in the Italian-American anarchist movement. Although he rarely spoke English in public,

he was a dynamic and eloquent speaker in Italian, and was a powerful "agitator" and organiser. About 1910, Carlo Tresca started up, and edited, his own anarchist paper, L'Avvenire. Although not actually a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, the Wobblies as they were called, until 1913, he had previously worked with the IWW. And in 1913, he moved to New York, editing his paper there. During the period both before the First World War and throughout the war, he was arrested many times, sometimes for allegedly libelling politicians, for supporting striking workers and for defending free speech campaigns.

For many decades, Carlo Tresca was the most well-known of all the Italian-American anarchist militants. He was closely involved in the struggles of railroad, mining, textile and hotel workers. He opposed the first "imperialist war". Following the war, he was closely involved with the Sacco and Vanzetti Defence Committee. With the coming to power of Mussolini and the Fascisti in Italy, Tresca joined the Anti-Fascist Alliance, a largely Communist "front" organisation, which also had many non-Communist members. Furthermore, what at first might seem odd, he also joined two other Communist "front" organisations - in 1929, the Reception Committee For Soviet Flyers, which had been set up by the Friends of the Soviet Union, and the New York branch of the John Reed Club. Despite his membership, from around 1929 to 1937, of a number of Communist organisations - and his close relationships with leading Communists - Carlo Tresca always considered himself an anarchist, perhaps in much the same way as the "soviet" anarchist, Bill Shatov, also considered himself one. For

reasons that will come to light later in this narrative, Tresca had become extremely anti-Communist by the late thirties. At the time of his assassination he was editing Il Martello, which was anti-Fascist, anti-mobster and, above all, anti-Communist. His death, therefore, was an international sensation.

Who, then, were his friends? Who were his enemies? And, even more important, who were his former friends and associates who had, later, become his enemies?



We must go back, first, to the year 1912. On January 11, the workers in the textile mills of Lawrence, New Hampshire, went on strike against pay cuts. The largest group of strikers - over 7,000 of them - were Italians. The IWW were the mainspring of the strike. And they invited, among others, two well-known Italian militants, Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti, who was editor of the paper, Il Proletario, to come up from New York to help the strikers. Both were first-class speakers in Italian and English. On arrival, they held meetings and assisted in the organisation of the strike. But on January 30, there was a fracas between some of the workers and the police, at which a woman picket was killed. In an attempt to weaken the strike, the police arrested Ettor, Giovannitti and another Italian and charged them with the murder of the woman.

The outcome of the strike was largely a victory for the Lawrence mill-workers; but the three Italians remained in jail. The IWW started, in May, a campaign for their release. At the suggestion of Giovannitti, the Defence Committee, which included the well-known and fiery IWW girl speaker, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, invited Carlo Tresca to help in the building of a mass movement for the release of Ettor and Giovannitti. Large meetings were held and, mainly due to Tresca's and Flynn's organising abilities, a general strike was called throughout Massachusetts. This had its effect. Ettor and Giovannitti were brought to trial, in Salem, in September. They, and their other comrade, were almost immediately acquitted.

Such were the circumstances which brought

Carlo Tresca and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn together. Both were estranged from their "legal" spouses. They soon became "lovers" and, except when on various propaganda tours, lived together for over thirteen years, and also remained close for some considerable time after. Through Gurley Flynn, Tresca met many American radicals, socialists and, later on, Communists.

But Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was not an anarchist. In 1906, at the age of fifteen, she read Bellamy, Morris and quite a lot of Kropotkin; but later in the year she was introduced to the works of Marx and Engels. She became a socialist. And for many years, she combined the mainly syndicalist tactics of the IWW with the socialist doctrines of Karl Marx. Between 1906 and 1916, she was very active in the IWW. Indeed, Joe Hill just before his execution called her the original Rebel Girl. Following the Russian Revolution, she, like very many "Wobblies", former "Wobblies" and quite a lot of socialists and anarchists, supported the Bolsheviks. She moved closer and closer to the young Communist Party, joining a number of its "front" organisations as did Carlo Tresca; and she became closely associated with many top American Communists, as well as a number of lesser-known characters of a rather sinister type. Among them were William Z. Foster, a one-time leading "Wobbly" and later General Secretary of the American Communist Party, Louis Budenz, Benjamin Gitlow, Juliet Poyntz and George Mink. In 1937, Gurley Flynn openly joined the Communist Party.



Closely linked in the chain of events leading up to the murder of Carlo Tresca is Juliet Stuart Poyntz, a political associate of Flynn's. She may also have been one of Carlo's occasional "lovers". He had, as Gurley Flynn noted, a "roaming eye"!

However, one day in 1937, at the end of May, or perhaps the beginning of June - the exact date is not known - Juliet Poyntz walked out of her room in the Women's Association Clubhouse at 353 West 57th Street, in New York. She did not pack any bags, leave a note behind or tell anyone that she was going away. She was never to return.

Who, then, was Juliet Stuart Poyntz?

She had been a schoolteacher, and later a Professor at Hunter College. She was an extremely able and forceful speaker. She had joined the American Communist Party soon after its formation. She had, both nationally and internationally, supported the Stalin faction for many years. In 1931, she visited the Soviet Union and spent some time in Moscow. After her return, she was appointed National Organiser for the Women's Division of the American Communist Party. She, like Gurley Flynn and Carlo Tresca, was a member of various Communist "front" organisations, including the American Association For Labor Defence, the National Committee of International Defence, the Labor Research Bureau, Russian Reconstruction Farms and, with Tresca, the Reception Committee for Soviet Flyers. But in 1934 Juliet Poyntz suddenly ceased all public associations with the American Communist Party. In 1936, however, she was seen in the company of George Mink, in Moscow. Such an association was ominous. It was also another link in the chain of events.

And George Mink?

He was originally a cab driver in Philadelphia. He was a short, rather dapper man. He joined the American Communist Party in 1926. Although he knew absolutely nothing about ships, he became organiser of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, a Stalinist-controlled section of the Communist International of Seamen and Harbour Workers, at its headquarters at 140 Broad Street, New York. He was also organiser of the Stalinist-run International Seamen's Clubs of America.

George Mink was said to be related, by marriage, to A. Lozovsky (S.A. Dridzo), one-time boss of the Moscow-based Red International of Labour Unions. Mink visited the Soviet Union, for the first time, in 1928. He was also a member, with Poyntz and Tresca, of the Committee For Soviet Flyers.

Mink began to travel widely. From about 1930 onwards, Moscow saw more of him than New York. In 1935, he was arrested by the Danish Police in Copenhagen, tried and found

guilty of espionage "on behalf of a foreign power" - the Soviet Union. After serving his sentence, he returned to Moscow during the summer of 1936. Under the alias of Alfred Hertz, he went to Barcelona in Spain. And in 1937, he was charged together with Vittorio Vidali (alias Carlos Contreras, alias Arturo Simenti), by the Spanish anarchists, with the murder of Camillo Berneri and his comrade, Barbieri. He was last reported, in 1939, in Mexico, where he was suspected of assisting Mexican and Spanish Communists, together with GPU agents Vittorio Vidali (under his alias of Carlos Contreras) and Ramon Mercader (alias Jacques Mornard, alias Frank Jackson), Trotsky's assassin, with the organisation of the murder of Leon Trotsky. He was credited with a number of murders, including Juliet Poyntz and other former Soviet secret agents.

George Mink was a GPU-NKVD agent. For some time after the disappearance of Juliet Poyntz nothing was said - publicly! Then, Carlo Tresca charged that George Mink had disposed of her. Tresca said that he had the facts, and that he was on the trail of others. He also said that Mink had been sent by the GPU, from Moscow to Spain, to murder the famous anarchist, Camillo Berneri. Such revelations and allegations were dangerous.

Louis Budenz, a former friend of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, one-time member of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party and also a member of the Committee For Soviet Flyers with Mink, Poyntz and Carlo Tresca, stated, after leaving the Communist Party in 1945, that he had been informed at the time of Poyntz's disappearance that she "had been liquidated by the GPU". Furthermore, Benjamin Gitlow, a former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (the Comintern), and a one-time leading American Communist who, later, became an oppositionist, also asserted a number of years after the assassination of Tresca that Juliet Poyntz had been lured into a car in Central Park, driven away and murdered. He said that she had been "a disillusioned GPU agent". Following Budenz's and Gitlow's revelations, Gurley Flynn accused them of being "stool-pigeons" and FBI agents! But neither Budenz nor Gitlow, however, backed up Carlo Tresca when he first accused Mink of the murder. After Tresca's murder,

Budenz and Gitlow commented that there had been open talk in the top leadership of the Communist Party, following Tresca's accusations, that "Tresca would pay with his life for his treachery".

But what had the police done to find the murderer of Carlo Tresca? Whom, if anyone, did they suspect? They took a number of people in for questioning, including Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and George Mink's GPU associate in Spain, Vittorio Vidali (later to become boss of the Communists in the port of Trieste). They released him later "for lack of evidence". Their main line of investigation was also interesting. It, moreover, added to the mysterious circumstances of the shooting on the corner of West Fifteenth Street on that January evening in 1943.



When the police arrived at the scene, they found an unfired gun and one bullet, which did not fit it, on the sidewalk. They never traced the owner of that gun, but it is likely that it was Tresca's own weapon. Nor did they find the murder weapon; though they removed one bullet from Tresca's body.

Later that night, the cops found a black Ford sedan abandoned at Eighteenth Street, near Seventh Avenue, just a few blocks from the scene of the murder. The two Norwegian diplomats said that it looked like the car into which they had seen a man jump after shots had been fired. The car's registration number turned out to be - a non-existent Charles Pappas, of a non-existent address!

The news pictures of the car brought in some "useful" information from the New York State Parole Division. On the night of the murder, two parole officers had been assigned to follow a certain Carmine Galante, an Italian-American parolee well-connected in the narcotic mobs of the Lower East Side. However, Galante had given them the slip by jumping into a moving Black Ford sedan. One of the parole officers managed to take down the number of the car, which turned out to be the same as that of the one abandoned near the murder.

Galante was identified as one of the occupants of the Ford car, was soon picked up (he

did not try to hide or escape) and was charged with parole violation. He was not informed that he was Suspect No. 1 in a murder case. He at first denied having been in the car; but later, after he had received a "grilling", he admitted it, but claimed that he had got out and spent the early part of the evening at a cinema with a girlfriend, watching Casablanca. Later, he said, they toured a few bars and then both retired to a hotel room for the night. The girl was identified, and confirmed his story. After his arrest, Carmine Galante was put into a police lineup. Carlo Tresca's friend, Giuseppe Calabi, could not say that Carmine was or was not the killer. Neither could the Norwegian diplomats identify the suspect.

Meanwhile, the anarchists and many socialists argued that Tresca had been assassinated by the Communists; whilst the Communists denied that they were responsible, arguing that such allegations against them were diversionary Fascist tactics designed to undermine the anti-Axis war effort. A Carlo Tresca Memorial Committee was set up under the chairmanship of the veteran Socialist Party leader, Norman Thomas. Its object was to find the killer. The Committee functioned for very many years (it may still be in existence, for all I know), but has never come up with any concrete evidence. The Police Department also investigated the murder for many years (about twelve all told), assigning, at least in the early stages, six assistant district attorneys, six members of the DA's office staff of ten investigators, fifty New York cops, police from other cities, the FBI, officers of the City and State Departments of Correction, the State Parole Division, the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and the US Alcohol Tax Unit. And



still they could only find one suspect - Carmine Galante!

After a while, they put him in a cell with Emilio "Nick" Funicello, an Italian and a professional stool pigeon, who had been trying to get himself out of jail since 1932. The Assistant District Attorney had previously used him to get a first-degree murder conviction against a man named Williams. At the time of Tresca's murder, Williams' appeal was before the State Court of Appeals.

Funicello soon got to work on Galante. And after a while, he reported to the DA that Galante had "opened up". According to Nick Funicello, Galante had told him that two men named Buster and Pap had pointed Tresca out to him, so that he would know whom to bump off. Nothing, however, was said about a motive. And that, according to Funicello, was all he had found out. Following Funicello's "revelations", the Court of Appeals torpedoed him as a prosecution witness against Galante by reversing the conviction in the Williams case. The police now had no suspect.

Galante returned to jail as a parole vio-

lator, to complete his sentence. Then the Federal Immigration Bureau ordered Funicello to be deported as an undesirable alien. From 1943 to 1955, DA Hogan managed to keep the government from deporting Funicello, arguing that the Tresca case was still alive. But on August 10, 1955, he was deported to Italy.

Officially, the Tresca case was now closed.

Not only did Carlo Tresca know too much, but he had said too much!

Who killed Carlo Tresca? Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Tresca's former lover, died in 1964, without saying another word; Galante left jail, and was never accused again, either by the police or the Carlo Tresca Memorial Committee; Nick Funicello never repeated Galante's alleged confession; George Mink, Juliet Poyntz's likely murderer, disappeared "into the night", and Vidali was safe in Trieste.

Peter E. Newell

You might have noticed that ANARCHY has been coming out much more frequently lately than it has done for quite a long time. This is for a number of reasons, a major one being that several new people have joined the collective.

SPREAD ANARCHY!

This would seem to be a good time to increase circulation. You can help by taking more copies to sell locally or for bookshops in your area.

CREATE ANARCHY!

Anybody wanting to help produce ANARCHY should come along to a meeting. They are held on alternate Thursdays - why not write to find out the date of the next one.

THE ANARCHY COLLECTIVE

THE OF POLITICS PREGNANCY



IN ALL the storm about safe, simple and free contraception and abortion on demand people seem to assume that women are saying they no longer want to have kids, and all that it entails. I found this attitude prevalent when I was pregnant - men expressed surprise that I, a woman involved in women's liberation, should be pregnant - as if the two were incompatible. It seems that the demand A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE has been forgotten or ignored.

Leading on from people's confusion about someone like me being pregnant I found that people reacted as if I were no longer politically viable - and in writing this I want not only to discuss the reasons I became pregnant and the fight I had when pregnant but to justify why I feel this has to be written. Among the Anarchy collective itself I think there will be people who see this article as apolitical, but will not come forward with that view in order to humour me. Those of you reading this that fit into the straight male anarchist role will probably wonder what this is doing in Anarchy. Well I'll tell you...

Some of you don't include women in your political life at all - politics is for on the factory floor, the picket line, the demo, the meetings, the written word - women cook for you, screw with you and generally keep you going on a personal level... never the twain shall meet. Token sufferance of women's liberation is not an answer so some of you can wipe those smug looks off your faces for a start.

Kids exist but again not in the political life. Some people argue against having kids because they take up too much time that could be spent on "political" work. My answer to all these things is that if women have no place in the revolution then it's not a revolution - if kids take up too much time we must organise child care in a communal way to free everyone for some of the time. If we wait till after the revolution to bear children we shall have no kids. If we make no provision for existing children then again it's no revolution.

Everything we do is political. You are not revolutionary if you demonstrate outside Fords or write political theses but oppress the woman and kids you live with. If you believe that a woman's place is in the home but your place is agitating on the factory floor then your revolution is towards nothing better than we have now. The pig is still in your head and your home, however much you despise him in your workplace.

I became pregnant not through a mistake but because I wanted to. Unfortunately in this society and with all the pressures still in my head from my upbringing in a capitalist world, the very fact that I chose to become pregnant was not a simple well-worked-out desire but a confused melee of pressures, uncertainty, vague ideas of proving myself and the like, along with a desire to experience pregnancy and see how I would react: would I become the prototype mothercare woman again or would I keep my present identity?

It seemed as if the only way I would get to live with a kid on a long-term basis would be to have my own... collectives break up and the kids had gone with their mothers leaving me childless again.

I now have a child; she is 6 months old and her care involves a lot of time. I am fortunate in that I have not become an unsupported mother looking after a child 24 hours a day with no time to myself and other work. It is worth pointing out that the phrase Unsupported Mother used by social security for women without husbands with kids equally applies to many women in a marital situation where they alone take responsibility for the children.

As I said, when collectives I was a part of broke up the mothers took the kids. This seemed to me not very far from the oppression we are fighting. We end up with women's collectives being full of kids and men's empty of them. I was terror-struck once my child became a reality with the thought that I had her as a responsibility for the next 16 years or so. Everywhere we go women are pressured to be good total mothers. Live THROUGH our kids and our husbands. Give up our lives, personalities and desires to satisfy other people's. So it was that a friend in both a political and emotional decision offered to be the one responsible for the child. This was something we discussed and agreed on before her birth. He was emotionally attached to her and politically wanted to break down the inevitability that he would not be involved with her care because he was a man. There are many advantages to this: my dread of the total responsibility does not come from a logical decision that I cannot cope but from conditioning always around me that if I can't I am a failure. He does not have that same pressure. To me it is a relief that enables me to enjoy my time looking after her and possibly this makes coping all the more easy because I don't have to assess my success or failure in the usual way.

However there is the pig in my head and in your heads too, giving me feelings of guilt and confusion. When out together at an anarchist meeting people expressed great surprise because it was not I who left early with the then 2 months old baby. When seeing

a move to the door people said goodbye to all of us - "Oh, I'm not going" - strange looks. I felt guilty, they felt threatened. For the men C. was acting strangely. "What's wrong with him?" "He's really into kids, isn't he?" One of us had to leave and it was the man and not the woman that went. One day I hope that will not be so unusual a situation that people feel threatened - the women because I was not acting out the same role they had to, I was saying it doesn't have to be like that; the men because C. was taking a responsibility they had shunned. Well, how long can you shun it for and still be a viable prospect in a revolutionary situation? If you think I'm just sticking around to tend your wounds at the barricades and open up a soup kitchen for weary soldiers, think again brothers. Think long and hard.

The moment a woman becomes pregnant she is assaulted by all manner of propaganda. When the enormity of it all hit me I was really surprised that so many women go through pregnancy and childbirth and survive to continue the fight. Nothing at all encourages women having kids to become anything other than a mother. I was given 2 books on my first ante-natal visit, one a Family Doctor publication, the other The Baby Book. Both written entirely by male doctors with the exception of one chapter on breast feeding that dealt with the aesthetic fulfilment of the method with no bearing on practicalities. The distribution of these booklets by hospitals and health centres, free, gives the propagandists an almost blanket coverage of the group they are trying to reach. A pregnant woman in this country who escapes hospital and/or clinics is so rare that I think she does not exist. So that the message these books relay becomes **very** important because I think it goes a long way in the conditioning of women to be mothers and to smother any subversion of that role.

By filling in a card, post free, one can receive a monthly publication called "Maternity and Mothercraft" and numerous leaflets on washing machines, nappies, prams, baby foods ETCETERA. Not only do these happy informative leaflets come plopping through my letterbox at intervals, but I find myself on a very wide mailing list - and even a year after my first fatal visit I find I am the unwilling receiver of countless offers of cookery cards and competitions offering me a full

colour life if I will only fill in the coupon.

There was a very important chapter on pregnancy and appearance in both of the original books. "This is the time to look and be feminine for there is nothing more feminine than a woman carrying a baby." "If you look good it will give pleasure to others. If you give pleasure to your husband and to others you will feel a lot better." In books like this it is not difficult to find support for the doctrine that women get their pleasure second hand. While pregnant we are supposed to feel enjoyment through seeing our husbands' eyes light up as we try on that slinky little black number that looked so beautiful on the unpregnant Mothercare model.



I am confused as to these people's definition of femininity; I presume that the unpregnant Mothercare models have lots of it - they look slender enough to twist round your little finger and eat out of your hand. Ask a woman who's 8 months pregnant and lugging her weekly shopping bags onto a crowded bus in the middle of a hot June day if she knows she's at her most feminine, attractive and appealing, and if she feels anything like I did last summer, and has any energy left at all, she'll punch you in the face.

Husbands now feature in these books. We are now told to include them in our pregnancy and child care. Aha! I thought, gone are the dark days of hiding one's lump and dropping out of any social life, gone is the time when men were men and fainted at the sight of a shitty nappy, here at last is the good bit, a revolutionary doctor speaks.

Well not exactly... while saying that the father (remember that word it's terribly important) must help, they point out that changing nappies is a bit much to ask, and mother (another important word; capitalism revolves round it) must always feed the baby because he (babies are always boys in books and hospitals; I felt pressured to ask where do little girls come from?) needs his mother's undivided love and attention. However this situation will not do - no, it's not because we'd drop dead from exhaustion without any help - and no, it's nothing to do with giving us some time of our own (why! we wouldn't know what to do with spare time!). You see, if we spend all our time loving baby, poor little hubby will feel unloved and get jealous - so we must encourage him to paint the nursery and oil the pram wheels, so he feels a real part of this glorious adventure and then when dear baby is asleep we must get our hair done and don another little black number - only it has to be a new, exciting, no longer pregnant one - and relax with hubby over a quiet candlelit dinner - which we rustle up in an unruffled jiffy.

I think these books go some way in explaining nausea in pregnancy.

It would be funny if it weren't for the fact that for some women these books are all the aid they have in getting through pregnancy and childbirth and the years of care involved afterwards. Can you wonder that many women don't have time for politics, don't have much to say in the evening when husbands come home? Could you carry on a stimulating conversation about washing nappies, burping a kid, and the queue at the cash desk in Sainsbury's? If one is to fulfil ALONE the requirements that a young child and a man demand they have, there is no time to get out of the trap.

You may have noticed the word husband and father comes into this article. It seems to have slipped the editor's mind that not all women who have kids are married and not all babies have fathers in anything but a short sharp biological sense which may have lasted nothing more than a few minutes. This is not a mistake; hospitals go to great pains to call everyone Mrs. at ante-natal clinics even when requested not to. Throughout nine

months I was called Miss only once, when I screamed it several times at very close range into a doctor's face. You see they would much rather we were married and if we aren't they will pretend and yes we can have the FATHER present at the birth - maybe in the excitement of it all he'll propose to us and then everything will have a happy ending.

I went to three hospitals during my pregnancy - I walked out of the first, was thrown out of the second, and finally came to rest, unwillingly because there was no time left, at the third, which I walked out of 48 hours and 10 minutes after giving birth.

At the first (Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital), I managed to morally outrage a doctor who had the nerve to ask me personal questions and became extremely agitated at my answers. I had a stand-up row with the consultant when she refused to examine me in the presence of a male friend, she then threatened me with a caesarian section, and it was some months later when this threat became an inevitability that I walked out... never to darken Miss Boutwood's doors again.

At the second hospital (University Hospital), I and two friends, one male and one female, posed a serious threat to the male consultant; it was after all HIS department and I was HIS patient and those notes were HIS too, and if I was so immature as to not want to be alone with him, then I obviously needed help, which he'd be only too pleased to give me if my friends would wait outside (presumably to collect the body afterwards). Anyway he never allows husbands into his clinic. "You're not her husband?" "You're not the baby's father?" "Leave immediately! Men are not admitted to my clinic." "You're a man, how did you crawl in then?" Unfortunately I forgot to touch my forelock when aiming this remark at the great and revered Mr. Brandt - it was a grave error. He refused to treat me. He publicly stated that to me and two witnesses and as soon as we had departed the enormity of his action caused him to ring my g.p. to ensure I was examined soon, saying how we had threatened him and how extrovert I was and how it was all a put-up job. Give it a kick and

it might not quite fall but my it shudders.

Well, non-deterred we set off for the next hospital on the list kindly provided by my g.p. I was after all 8 months pregnant and an unfortunate mistake by doctors at my birth rendered hospitalisation a necessary precaution. Did I say Mistake? By a doctor? What I obviously meant was that I was a difficult baby and my mother was an awkward patient. Doctors don't make mistakes!

By the time I reached the Royal Free Hospital they had a file nearly as bulky as I was and two blue stars were fixed to it. No one objected to the presence of a male friend, it was accepted that he wasn't the father of the child, and no one threatened me when I refused to answer the questions I deemed unnecessary and unsuitable, that is to say none of their business. One thing that did seem to cause them some dismay was that I too carried a bulky file under my arm. Everyone involved asked what it was and looked worried when I replied "Oh it's my hospital file." It's well worth taking one with you, and if after a long, hard struggle for information, when they patronisingly ask if you've any questions at the same time as they make for the door, it's a wonderful sight to see their faces fall as a friend pulls out a wad of paper covered in writing and says "Yes we did have some questions didn't we?"



On my second visit (it becomes a weekly ritual by the 8th month) I was assigned a Dr. Wright - the irony of his name I hope will not escape you. Although nothing too devastating happened for a

couple of weeks I think I ought to warn you that all was not roses at the Royal Free.

Two weeks before the day (you know, the most important day in any woman's life, the day Dr. Wright smiled at me and my child was born), the consultant, a woman, suggested I come in for the week before I'm due to rest and so they can keep an eye on me. I was a bit dubious about this, in the same way as I wouldn't walk into a police station and give myself up, also losing the last week of not having a child to look after - I was getting very nostalgic about playing darts in the pub every night and being able to screw without any worry. However it was pointed out to me by a friend that I would be in a very good position to suss out the hospital and staff - the ante-natals are held at the main hospital, while the in-patient gynaecological department is in the annexe at Liverpool Road. So I fixed a date and a time and accordingly turned up with my carrier bags of goodies and a woman friend, who was mistaken for my husband, as was I from the back!

I was by now very tired. It was June and very hot and it had been an uphill struggle to get the information they forever write down about "my condition", and to counter the shitty patronising doctor/patient relationship prevalent in hospitals - so that when Dr. Wright popped in (as he frequently did) and offered answers to my questions I felt that maybe it would be alright after all.

However not being totally without mistrust I did explain that I was having at least one person, of my own choosing, and possibly a group of people taking it in turns, with me constantly during my labour and the birth and afterwards. Oh yes, he said enthusiastically, I always think it's a good idea to have someone you know with you, that's quite alright.

It was decided that if nothing happened on Monday (when the calendar said it should) then I was to go down to the labour ward at around 9 a.m. on Wednesday morning to be induced. This actually suited me fine as it gave a day for my friends to plan for and I was getting mighty tired of being pregnant.

At twenty to nine I was told to get on

a stretcher by two porters. I refused, explaining that I was not going down until my friends arrived. They looked perplexed. The sister came to deal with me. I refused again. She countered by saying that my friends wouldn't get in anyway, it was husbands only. I found that during labour I became less able to stand and argue logically and to my horror started crying when threatened by the staff. This horrified me simply because it's terribly difficult to argue when I'm crying and tired and wish the hell they'd all piss off and leave me and my friends to it. Anyway, in the nick of time, like all good fairy stories, there they are all smiling and apologetic for oversleeping only they were reading it all up again into the small hours.

And so we proceeded to the labour ward, where a stropky consultant has the nerve to tell me she's been waiting ten minutes for me. "Don't give me that, I've been waiting nine months." My friends were refused entry while they broke the waters and put a catheter up my cunt to measure the contractions, and stuck a drip into my left hand (I'm left-handed). I continued to ask for them. I refused to get on the bed and the sister said "Take her back to the ward." I was already contracting - as they noticed - before they broke the waters but they were all there to do just that and once set on course the great hospital production line cannot, it seems, alter. When they had finished their various, sometimes painful, always frightening intrusions, R. walked in. She had had to fight for admittance on any level as they couldn't understand why a woman was there at all.

The nurses were actually very nice to us all, I mean the ones without power; they were considerate and enjoyed reading the book we had on childbirth, "Our Bodies Our Selves". All the other medical staff were insufferable, including the medical student. We had one moment of triumph when on seeing how relaxed I was and how well my controlled breathing was going they asked me if I had been to hospital relaxation classes. "No, I did exercises at home with friends." The importance of this answer lies in their total lack of understanding that friends, comrades, can fulfil tasks that they fail miserably at.

Giving birth in a friendly, relaxed,

prepared for atmosphere can be a very enjoyable and exciting event. In unfriendly, alien surroundings it can be terrifying. C. alone was there for the last hour and the birth as R. went off for a meeting and to get reinforcements; we all thought it was going to take another 12 hours! When I say C. alone I mean of friends - there were countless strangers milling around. But the presence of one real friend helped to make it a groovy occasion and we really enjoyed the first sight of a very small, amazingly colourful human being.

But we must be brought back to the stark reality of hospital life and so C. was shown out for a "few minutes", in fact a couple of hours, while they stitched up my sore and bleeding cunt that they had viciously assaulted with a large pair of scissors. The cut (epistiotomy they call it) was the only truly painful part of labour as I experienced it - but painful it was. And the slow sewing up by the medical student, with a local anaes-

thetic that didn't work, was one of the most painful and frightening experiences of my life.

Then to a room at the end of a long corridor, where the nurses couldn't hear the bell, where no one entered except to hand me meals and tell me to feed the baby.

You cannot tell me there is nothing political in the pain, the fear, the isolation and the put downs.

You cannot persuade me that fighting these things is not a political fight.

And don't dare to say that to come out of it fighting and to win is not a political victory. A beginning of destroying the hold they have over our bodies, our health, our lives and our deaths.

Charlotte Bagins

TREATMENT GIVEN THE RETARDED IN OUR SOCIETY CAN BE PARALLELED WITH THAT METED OUT TO THE MENTALLY ILL AND OTHER SOCIAL DEVIANTS; THEY ARE LABELLED, SET ASIDE AND DENIED THEIR INDIVIDUALITY.

JOTHAM, our Mongol son, was born nearly two years ago. I suspected something could be wrong shortly after his birth. He did not give the lusty cry I had been led to expect, and, later, while I was still in the delivery room one nurse muttered to another something about "this baby hasn't...". The second nurse replied with an over-loud "We don't want to talk about that here, do we?"

The next day staff took him away for feeding and examinations, with hurried and patronizing explanations such as "He is small and needs special care". All the other babies were fed by their mothers, and besides I knew smallness did not necessarily equal special care. I strongly resented their interference, and wanted to feed him myself. However at the first opportunity I

counted fingers and toes, decided everything seemed intact and put all doubts from my mind. His lethargy I put down to the drugs used during delivery and although he had a strange fat deposit on his upper back, I ignored it, hoping it was typical of some new-born babies.

The following day he was again taken away at odd intervals. I insisted on a test feed because I needed to know for my own sanity that I could feed him as well as they. I could. They kept on about his sucking for some reason. They seemed to assume he couldn't. Again I hoped this was all because he was small and early. Later in the day Jotham developed jaundice and I began to latch onto that as the explanation for the staff's strange behaviour. Now they took him away for blood samples. The rest of that day and part of the following I cornered everyone I could for information about jaundice. My anxiety was rising all the time. I gained most information from a teaching sister who came around with a group of students. As they were using my baby I had no compunction in asking question after question until my curiosity about jaundice was satisfied. I wanted to believe all this was due to jaundice and his smallness, but deep down I was beginning to know better. After assuring me jaundice was not all that serious, she added, "I am not saying that is all that is wrong." I fell back exhausted; it was so difficult to get information. The group of nurses quickly moved on. Soon I was distraught and crying. I knew those bastards had information **they**

were not about to give me. A while later a doctor and the ward sister came in. Again they examined Jotham. The doctor, half out the door ready for escape, said "Everything's all right, don't worry." But the sister added, "Is the baby's father coming this evening?" I screamed at them to tell me but, tight-lipped, they disappeared down long corridors. I phoned Reg and tried to warn him as best I could that jaundice was not the whole story, and spent the rest of the day lying utterly shattered. I did not care any more when they took Jotham away.

When Reg arrived the same doctor took us into an empty room and told us he was mongol. I had hoped it would be anything but that. The doctor asked Reg if he had held the baby. (Of course he had not - Hospital Rules.) The doctor then thrust the baby at Reg and said, "Hold him; mongols are very loving and rewarding and they respond so well to training." It was as if he were talking about a dog. He told us parents often reject their baby if they know too soon. Which is why I had gone through so much hell, I supposed? He also gave us what seemed like a lecture on our moral responsibility towards the baby. I was sitting in a state of shock and feeling embarrassed for Reg, who was still holding Jotham. Neither of us wanted to be forced into silly rituals to allay the doctor's fears. We managed to get rid of the doctor and calm each other down. The doctor returned and addressed Reg - I was the mere mother. Reg was out on his feet: he had been raided and charged, his grandmother had taken ill and now this. He

MENTAL PATIENTS UNION : GENERAL MEETING

Saturday, April 20th. 2pm. to 5.30pm.

at: The Music College, Manchester University, Oxford Rd., Manchester.

All Mental Patients and Ex-Mental Patients can attend this meeting, have full speaking rights and can vote on all issues.

People who are not, and have never been Mental Patients, can attend (unless asked to leave by those who have), but they cannot vote.

For further information please contact the MPU at : 37, Mayola Rd., Clapton, London E. 5. or c/o E. Beninson, 2 York Ave, Prestwich, M'chester.

suggested Reg take me home as he was sure I would "become depressed and upset the ward". I butted in and said "Look, originally I wanted to have the baby and leave the hospital within two days, and this hospital insisted I stay seven days. Now that I have a problem and want advice you want me to go. I am staying until I have seen the paediatrician." I could not have gone home immediately as Reg had still to cope with the aftermath of the police raid.

The next day they wanted me to take librium because I seemed a "little upset" and they stopped taking Jotham away to guard against rejection. As to feeling upset, I felt a lot calmer now I knew what was going on and by the close of the previous day I had almost completely lost interest in Jotham because of their conspiracy to exclude me from all aspects of his care.

Our experience was quite typical. Everybody we have since met who has a handicapped child found it unnecessarily hard to get information. Many were also told lies and half-truths. One friend had to live with her doubts for two weeks before being told her son was mongol, and this is by no means the worst. They rely on the ability of a mother to persuade herself that the baby is all right. We heard of one mother who was not told until her child was four years old. Her husband and GP thought the truth would break her.

Handicapped children are more common than one realizes. We were told at Guy's Hospital that 1:30 are born with a recognizable handicap. (This includes conditions that can now be remedied like Hare Lip.) A social worker told us she had read mongolism is on the increase. Rough figures for mongols are 1:400 conceptions and 1:600 births. (1)

People are not helped to face the possibility of having a handicapped child. Women who voice doubts to doctors are told their fears are groundless, and none of the advertisement-crammed literature mentioned elsewhere in this number ever hints that the baby will be anything but someone fit to be featured on their latest box of sweetened baby mush. Because the retarded are considered little use in our materialistic society, they are not

talked about and many people still advise they be "put away". Thus when the unspeakable happens and a handicapped child is born those involved feel at least momentarily devastated and cheated. They are not to know their situation is quite common, when it has been made outside their experience.

Our next problem was to find information on mongolism. The doctors and social workers were useless. In the end we phoned

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Applications are invited for the

Headship

of this school for 30 children aged 3 to 16 who have been deemed maladjusted. Vacant from Easter 1974. Burnham Group 4(S), salary £3,026 to £3,402 plus £118 London allowance (1973 Burnham scale).

Under the present head, who has obtained the headship of a larger special school in the HLEA service, and with the support of a psychiatric team, the school has achieved good standards of education and treatment.

the Head Office of the National Society for Mentally Handicapped Children, and received by return post a book-list and a booklet called 'Improving Mongol Babies'. (2) This book was full of practical help. Mongols have poor muscle tone and unless they are given exercises to improve their strength they become very immobile and miss out on a great deal of the early exploratory behaviour that is so vital to development. Things go from bad to worse. The book contained step-by-step exercises. I had asked the paediatrician if exercises were possible for Jotham but she had replied "No, go home and treat him as normal." Nobody at the hospital could put us in touch with the Association; we had to find it ourselves. Later a member of the local branch of the association called, but we did not find their activities very relevant. There was a lot of emphasis on fund-raising and merry-making in order to forget the problem at home. Very little seems to be known about mongolism from its causes to its effects. Most people who have handicapped children start off with a marked disadvantage because their primary contact,

the hospital hierarchy, don't know and don't seem to want to know. In fact after reading only a few books we found we knew more than some doctors we encountered.

Once I had left hospital we had the problem of telling everyone. We were not sure how to relate to others and they were not sure how to relate to us. Some people tended to avoid us because they did not know what to say. We all feel perplexed by handicapped people; because they are removed from sight we are often facing a completely new situation. We saw a blind person interviewed on television and he said that one of the most frustrating aspects of being handicapped was that people did not relate to him directly, thus they would say to his companion, "Does he take sugar in his tea?" However many of our friends had a calmer reaction; nearly everyone we met knew of a handicapped child and a lot of people have taken a genuine interest in Jotham. More older people said "Have

handicapped, supervised by special staff, for pocket money. We do not know the arrangements nation-wide but these seem to be the ones aimed for.

The teachers and ancillary staff I have met in our area pay a great deal of lip-service to integrating their pupils into the community. Their aim in teaching is to help each child become so independent she/he could hold outside employment. Some friends of ours went to a series of lectures run by Adult Education for all those interested in retardation. The theme centred around integrating the retarded into the community. The authorities no longer advocate "putting the child away" but that they stay with their families, who would be supported in their task by help from such facilities as those mentioned above, and ideally baby-sitting services and holiday homes. It is now very difficult to find a place in an institution for a retarded person. I find these aims admirable but the following points should be borne in mind:

1) There is no longer any community in the old sense. Quite frequently a mother is bringing up a child alone and even if she has a husband the sole responsibility for the child generally falls on the women's shoulders. I have a friend whose 8-year-old girl, Sally, suffered brain damage at birth. Sally fell into a pattern of screaming and kicking when she was taken off the school bus each evening. The bus stopped on a busy road and on two occasions Sally shoved her other sister off the pavement onto the road. She made such a fuss in the car that it was impossible for her mother to drive. My friend had no-one to help her cope with these tantrums and these were by no means the only tantrums; they seem to be related to Sally's brain damage. It is true institutions are no alternative and my friend would be the first to agree, but they are an alternative. All the parents I have talked to are worried about their handicapped child's future, especially after their own death. Not until there is a general alternative to the nuclear family will there always be someone to take an interest in the handicapped.

2) The second point about the teachers' ideals is that their actions are counter-productive. If the Education Authority were seriously considering integration, surely they would have set up classes for the phys-

Leeds City Council

TEACHER

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him put in care." Reg met two elderly ladies at a bus stop who were off to visit their mongol sons in an institution. They said, "Put him in a home immediately as he will have to go eventually." It did not make Reg's day.

In our Borough the local Education Authority has the future of the retarded mapped out. At 2½ Jotham goes to a special school, with special staff, and a special bus collection service. He attends 5 days a week until he is 16 (they are trying to raise this to 19). He then goes to a sheltered workshop where he would do contract work, with other

ically and mentally handicapped within the local schools. By grouping all children together, they will become aware of each other's problems, both physical and mental. They and their parents will become used to seeing the handicapped and hopefully learn to respond to their particular needs. When the authorities define an educational problem they always see the answer in terms of splitting off the children they involve. They want to separate and stream-line the exceptionally bright, the dull, the moderately dull, the physically handicapped, the dyslexic, the emotionally disturbed - who is left? Part of the answer may lie in smaller groups of children and teachers who have not been thoroughly dehumanized by keeping 40 kids chained to desks - but in the meantime the splitting off continues.

The authorities do not like parents who see the contradiction between sending their child to a special school and involving him in a wider society. I have spoken to one mother (a widow) who for the past two years has been struggling against the authorities to send her 10-year-old Spina Bifida son to the local school - he can walk slowly with callipers. She argues that when she has gone her son must look after himself and she does all she can to prepare him for this time. She will not allow him special consideration from his or her friends simply because he is partially paralysed. In no way is he gaining useful experience in his special school for the physically handicapped - its bent is too custodial and too medical. However the authorities put block after block in her way of getting him into a local school. Perhaps the cruellest blow of all, they label her "a rejecting mother" and tell her she does not "accept" her son's handicap.

They have also used this weapon against another friend of mine with a 5-year-old mongol. After a trial term she refused to continue to send her child to the school for mentally handicapped as his particular difficulty was speech and she knew this would not be helped in a group of speechless children. In spite of the authorities' efforts to persuade her otherwise she found him a place several days a week in a local nursery school. Children seldom learn more than their situation allows or demands, and the demands of special schools are unrelated to demands outside.

To repeat, if you are unwilling to slot your child into the position the authorities allocate, you are entered in their notes as a person who "rejects" their child or does not "accept" the handicap. You are treated accordingly with a barrage of social workers and health visitors who see it as their job to put you straight. They always know best. They even stoop to sending "orthodox" parents around in the hope they will help you see sense.

There are parents who do not reach the authorities' expectations in another direction. These parents are labelled "over-protective". They give their children very little room to develop. The matron of the school boarding unit gave us an example of such a mother in order to impress upon us how we should not act as parents of a handicapped child. Parents are expected to make certain efforts in teaching their child to become independent. This particular mother treated her 10-year-old mongol son as though he were a baby. He even slept with her of a night. The child was taken into the boarding section of his school where he "learned" the basics in self-care, but as soon as he went home his mother again dressed him, bathed him, fed him, etc. Even though I find this mother's behaviour towards her child very hard to take I would not give the power to the authorities to do anything about it. They do not know where to stop.

There is one general attitude I find disturbing. Some people over-sentimentalise. Several women I have met said that if they knew they were to have a mongol baby they would go ahead with the pregnancy (doctors can now test for mongolism within the first few months of pregnancy, giving a woman so tested the choice of a termination if necessary). They look at Jotham and say "Isn't he lovely?" Will they feel so disposed towards him when he is forty? Will their husbands work with him or more importantly have him working for them?

Margaret Bourne

- (1) Rex Brinkworth and Dr. J. Collins, Improving Mongol Babies, H.S.M.H.C. (Northern Ireland Region), 1969, 37½p.
- (2) op. cit.

ISLINGTON MEN'S GROUP

THE FIRST group of men met at the end of 1972. A couple of us were going through a period of great depression to do with our relationships with women, and felt the need to talk to other men on a personal level. Five of us met, two of whom were gay. This group only met a few times.

The next group started in Spring '73 and, apart from a break in the summer of about 2 months, has been going ever since. We meet every Wednesday; at first about 15 attended regularly, but since the summer there has been a regular attendance of 8. Altogether some 20 men have been involved at one time or another.

The original suggestion for this group came out of a mixed meeting of libertarian/community activists. We definitely all saw it as a development of our politics rather than the establishment of some sort of therapy session, but this in no way means that we don't look for (and find) emotional support and tenderness in the group. Quite the contrary. The development of this between men is a prime concern of ours.

It's not as if we all decided that men's groups were the 'politically correct' thing to get involved with, and indeed most of us were (and to a lesser extent still are) pretty unclear about the 'politics' of it all. But we didn't feel inhibited by this, perhaps because we all felt pressing personal needs. All of us had, in the previous 3 or 4 years, seen an integral part of our politics as being an attempt to understand, and to struggle against, the ways in which capitalist oppression gets into our heads and fucks up our relationships with each other (by relationships we don't only mean those that are sexual). Most of us had, for instance, been involved with attempts to live collectively, to bring up kids collectively, and to work out better personal relationships. These early attempts came before the perceptions of the woman's movement had penetrated our everyday lives. We had no real understanding of the ways in which we'd been formed as men. Our attempts to break through family structures, to question monogamy and all that goes with it, were distorted by our male fantasies and outlook.

We'd all been content to relate to each other as men in pretty straight ways. That is to say we didn't really seek emotional support/tenderness from each other, being content to get this from the women with whom we were having sexual scenes. Our relationships were, in many ways, based on our respect for/fear of each other's strengths rather than the ability to accept our weaknesses fully and work them through together. This meant that we were trapped in the old, old trip of keeping up images, of hiding much of ourselves for fear of rejection. The competitiveness which expresses itself not only in sexual rivalry, but also in our work, discussions, and indeed in every aspect of our lives, went unchallenged.

For 2 or 3 years some of us had had ideological beliefs about relating differently to other men but it now became a necessity. With the growth of the woman's movement we got less support from the women we were involved with and the true poverty of our masculine fantasies of independence and of not needing people were exposed with frightening clarity. We became very envious of the togetherness of the women.

Then we began to meet. At first it was all very shy and tentative. It was very odd to sit in a room with other men and have no reason other than your emotions for being there. We were all embarrassed when talking to other men about our involvement in men's groups. The thing that kept us going was the urgency of our need to break the masculine barriers between us, if we were going to stay sane. We still feel that need very strongly, but the little progress that we have made gives us some confidence in the political validity of what we're doing.

In early November there was a conference of men's groups and some 'unattached' men in Birmingham. About 100 men were there and probably a dozen or so groups were represented. Half a dozen of us went from Islington and were really knocked out by the experience, as were most of the people we talked to. The atmosphere there was fantastically

warm and friendly, which, unfortunately, is in striking contrast to most other conferences (though not, probably, to women's conferences). For instance: the Saturday session consisted of half a dozen groups of 20 or so people. When someone new came over to a group he wasn't just ignored and left to catch up with the discussion but was made to feel really welcome, was told what was being talked about and was drawn in. An incredible effort was made to show sensitivity to each other and not to get into any of the pitfalls of male (and other) gatherings. Like, there were very few interruptions; no-one criticised in a way that would make you feel put down; no-one felt impelled to raise his voice (because no-one else was raising his); you didn't have to hustle to have your say; you didn't get the situation of one person following another in rapid succession (usually the same people) so you had plenty of time to get your thoughts together and articulate them. This was also made easier by the friendly and unintimidating atmosphere. There seemed to be no reason why you shouldn't be as unsure and as tentative as you felt, so there was no need to remain silent because you couldn't get your thoughts and arguments together with the forcefulness and articulateness that are usually required. Not only were people eager to say things, but were also eager to listen to and to understand other people's experiences.

We feel that it is important to emphasise these aspects of the conference, because they highlight so much of what is wrong with the ways in which we usually relate to each other in discussions, meetings, or conferences.

We're not claiming that it's always like this between us, even in men's group sessions. Indeed one of the things that disturbs us is the way in which we tend to get back into the same old trips once we've stopped talking about 'personal matters'. The meetings are quite rambling and two or three times we've got onto talking about things like the economic situation, Chile, automation, or similar topics. Once such more traditionally male discussions start we become much more self-assertive. We interrupt each other, talk each other down, raise our voices, get irritated with each other, dominate.

Another point about such discussions is that we often catch ourselves slipping into them as an excuse for not talking about more personal things. It's so easy for men to hide their personal life and emotions behind a facade of concern for the 'more important' matters of the world. It reflects one of our basic oppressions.

For us, men's liberation is about seeing how we have been conditioned by the various institutions of capitalist society into having a particular personality, of relating to other people in particular ways, into playing certain roles, all of which fuck us up in specifically male ways. It's about men coming together and getting to know each other in ways different from those in which men usually 'know' each other, about giving and receiving emotional support from each other, about opening yourself up to other guys.

None of us wish to commit the error of seeing our liberation as anything other than the task of a mass revolutionary movement. But to see your personal problems as political it seems necessary as a first step to talk about them, to share the unarticulated subjective experience of being oppressed and fucked over with other men. To try to see where our experiences tally and to relate them to the conditioning that we have all undergone, and still undergo 24 hours a day.

This openness in itself can be a mind-blowing experience. Being a man can be quite lonely: often there's this whirlpool of feelings, fears, uptights, uncertainties, going on inside of you. And so often you feel embarrassed to come out with it because it seems so stupid, or trivial, or weak. You get to feel that it's just you, that your problems are no-one else's, and that you are in some way 'inadequate' (which is - of course - just what THEY want you to think). Just coming out with it can be such a relief as you discover that your brothers are going, or have been, through similar things. That they not only understand and sympathise with your private hell, but they actually know how you feel because they've been through the same shit themselves.

Being a man in this society means a continual game with yourself and with other people. You have to behave in 'manly' ways. Be hard, be strong, be forceful, be decisive, keep cool and in control, never show your weaknesses, fears, and anxieties, never let your emotions 'get the better of you', never get upset.

It's like having to keep up a front all the time, continually denying part of yourself - especially any dependencies - translating any pain into aggression (being 'pissed off' or 'uptight' rather than 'upset'). Getting angry rather than crying. Be uptight, be aggressive, be nasty, but never, never ever be weak, or never show your weaknesses. Disguise them, deny them, fight them, control them. But never express them.

And so much do the male ways of relating to each other reinforce all this. We can all remember the social sanctions against any cracks in the armour: "Big boys don't cry", "If you can keep your head when all around are losing theirs you're a man, my son, a man". How much of our relationships to other boys and other men consisted of digging for their weaknesses and then using them against them ("only a bit of fun").

So it's quite easy to see how our relationships to each other come to be built on an admiration or fear of each other's strengths. We're conditioned to see men as austere, as people whose respect/love we have to earn. Earn by behaving in certain ways, by being a man, by being strong. This was how we learnt to relate to the first man we ever knew - our father. A distant figure, imprisoned in his own masculinity, and the ultimate source of authority over us (if mum said "Wait till your dad gets home" we knew we were in real trouble).

Getting away from these aggressive, competitive, reserved ways of relating is very much part of what we're about. It's a process of softening up, of feminising ourselves. But this needs quite a few qualifications. We certainly don't want to confuse a struggle against our masculinity with an uncritical attempt to assume 'feminine' characteristics - as they are at present defined in this society. For example, it's all very well to talk about men's liberation as being about putting men in touch with their emotions (like women are supposed to be) but these emotions are pretty fucked up too. Indeed, being too easily overwhelmed by their emotions is, perhaps, an integral part of women's oppression.

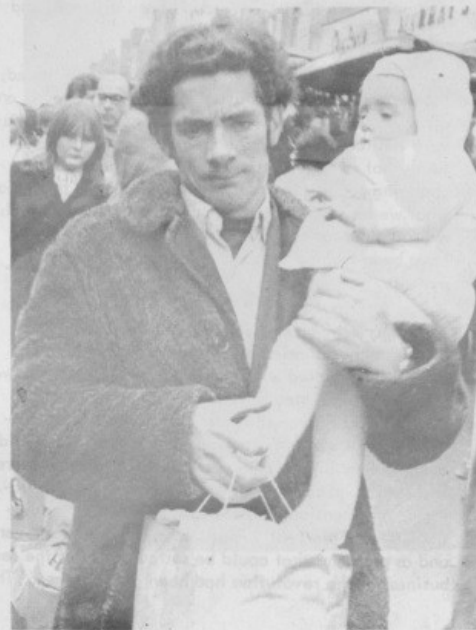
Neither do we want to get into blanket put-downs of everything 'masculine'. In our struggle against a repressive society there is a sense in which we need our 'male' virtues as much as we need to develop more 'feminine' ones. Capitalism needs weak, indecisive, dependent people who can be easily manipulated to play out their roles as workers, housewives, or consumers. And yet its institutions con us men into seeing ourselves as strong, decisive, autonomous, independent, courageous, and all the rest of it. But what do these things really mean? And from where do we learn what it means to be 'strong' or 'decisive' or any of the other things? There is but one source: bourgeois ideology. The various channels of indoctrination - the family, the school, the newspapers, tele, adverts, pop music - all tell us what we should be, and how we have to behave to be it. They give us perverted and distorted ideas about qualities that are essential to any whole

person, male or female, the better to fit us for our roles in capitalist society.

Thus, 'strength', 'courage', or 'independence' are the qualities attributed to the scab for resisting 'pressure' from his workmates. 'Decisiveness' is all to do with making decisions on your own, with exercising power over people. A man's 'independence' or 'autonomy' has nothing to do with having any real control over his own life (how could it have) but is measured by how often he goes to the pub leaving his wife at home with the kids.

And all these characteristics are put over as being attributes of individuals. You, individually; are born with them because you're a man. Nowhere in the ideology that forms us do we find a recognition of the fact that (e.g.) strength or courage come from other people, that it is only our brothers and sisters, our comrades, the movement who can give us any real strength or courage. (In so far as such a recognition is made it is, of course, distorted - "The woman behind the man".)

The competitiveness of 'male' ideology forces us further into our individual prisons. The distorted ideas of 'manliness' divide us. We measure our 'autonomy' and 'independence' by our distance from others, our



'strength' by our power over others. Being more of a man than other men (with all the put-downs, aggression, and ego games that it entails) is very much part of being a man.

So, like we've said, we're not attempting to overthrow everything 'male', even if that were possible. There are many so-called 'male' characteristics that we wish to keep or develop. There are many situations in which, if we are to fight successfully against the society that has so mutilated us, we must be more on top of things, more together, more tough, more clear-thinking, more aggressive, more worked out, more forceful. But if that struggle is to be really successful, if we are to overthrow capitalistic human relationships as well as the capitalist relations of production we have to develop the consciousness in us all of the contradictory nature of our masculinity: the aspects that are essential attributes of any whole person, and the false, role-conditioned aspects that are so integral to our oppression.

Guess the men's group experience is a period of self-questioning for us all. Questioning every aspect of ourselves and our aspirations and trying - together - to distinguish the false, role-conditioned aspects from the real ones. But this seems essential if we are really to be in control of who we are and what we want. It's a process of trying to suss out the extent to which capitalism has infiltrated our every emotion, thought, and need. And how, indeed, it has infiltrated and distorted our revolutionary ideas.

The roles into which we have been conditioned, the characteristics we have been trained to have, are all to do with social power and domination (albeit a very limited power for the vast majority). It's certainly not enough to turn on to a few ideas about changing society in order to change all this shit. So what we have to do is to look at the extent to which we recreate our conditioning, live out the roles we have been trained to play, in our revolutionary activity.

Before the woman's movement became a real force 'revolutionaries' totally ignored anything not directly connected with economic and political power (the very things men have been trained to be concerned with). Even the most oppressive toil of all - housework - was forgotten. Nothing that was outside a man's very limited view of the world was considered. The family, kids, human relationships, living situations, any mention of these was regarded as 'deviationist', 'subjectivist', 'petit bourgeois' or whatever and as problems that could be sorted out after the real business of the revolution had been got together. The

understanding of capitalist oppression and ideology was partial and was, therefore, itself ideological. It was distorted by bourgeois ideology in its sexist guise. And so, therefore, was our revolutionary activity. (Is it a coincidence that it was Alexandra Kollontai - a woman - who raised the question of sexuality in the Russian revolution.)

We cannot afford to have our eyes blinkered by our male conditioning any longer. We must continually increase the scope of our critique of capitalism and of our fight back, questioning all the time the (male) hierarchies of importance in which we still place our activities. Bourgeois ideology has - via our male conditioning - not only distorted our ideas about what the revolution is, but it also affects our ideas about how we get it together (organisation), and about our relationships to each other as revolutionaries.

We are, perhaps, beginning to realise that you can't just decree the abolition of all hierarchy or of the power of some people to impose their will on others. The roots of all this go much deeper than the formal hierarchies found in Leninist and similar organisations. Perhaps these are merely the outward expression of the interpersonal power games that still go on unabashed when we reject the structures. Getting rid of these structures that enshrine the domination of power groups is but a first step to getting rid of domination itself and such a project must still figure very much in our organisational principles.

It's quite difficult to make any assessment of the progress we've made through our involvement in the men's group. It's not as if we have particularly clear goals towards which we're working and it's probably fair to say that we continue to meet because we all feel a strong personal need to come together in this way. Our confusions about who we are, and in what ways we want to change ourselves, demand that we work this out with our brothers and sisters, that is to say that we make ourselves accountable to each other. Such accountability is something that is crucial to us, but it is very difficult to develop. We hope we are beginning to establish that mutual trust and affection that is an absolute necessity if we are going to confront and criticise each other without the usual aggressiveness/defensiveness. Some of the best 'highs' we have experienced have been when we've approached such candour.

Our group is still at a pretty embryonic stage of development. We usually talk in a pretty structureless way about how we experience things. We all meet sometime between 8 and 9 (it's supposed to

begin at 8) with no clear idea of what we're going to talk about, start rapping by 9.30 and split up around midnight. We've talked about the various ways in which sexual relationships can be organised, how our maleness might affect our attitudes to politics and political violence (to what extent can it be said that it reflects male fantasies), how we are affected by the demands of a job or of a 'politically active life', jealousy, depression.....

These discussions are often frustrating for many reasons. They tend to jump around a lot from one thing to another so you're left with the impression that out of all the really interesting things that have been touched on nothing has been talked about as thoroughly as it might have been. Moments of intimate honesty are followed by periods of closing off when we get into more 'manly' conversations, possibly out of sheer emotional exhaustion. We are thinking of having a bit more structure, possibly setting a topic before the meeting or getting one person a week to go through a personal history.

Another difficulty is the lack of clarity as to how men's groups will develop. Unanswered questions that arise here are what are the possibilities and limitations of a men's movement (let alone the dangers feared by some women and gays). What are the possibilities of more practical activities? (Campaigns for men to get time off work to be with their kids?) How can we get away from being a small, closed, quite inward-looking group whilst still preserving the intimacy and - yes - security which we see as essential to the development of our relationships with each other.

At the moment we have an arrangement with the women who meet on the same night as us to run a creche on alternate weeks.

As a group we mobilised ourselves for a demo organised by Woman's Abortion and Contraception Campaign against the anti-abortionist Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child. We joined a motorcade driving around Westminster in a van carrying two large placards saying "Islington Men's Group" and "Abortion - a woman's right to choose" and the other saying "Men against Masculinity". (In retrospect this slogan was a bit confusing because it failed to distinguish between the real and false aspects of masculinity.)

We feel that if the group were to grow too large, or be made too open to new people, then the size of the group and the changing members would make it difficult to create any trust, and therefore that the

honesty and warmth which flow from that trust would be lost. But we feel a responsibility to individual men or groups of men who ask us about the meetings. Remembering how tentative we were ourselves during the first meetings, we think it's not enough to say "Why don't you form a men's group yourselves?" We would like to play a more conscious part in the growth of new groups. The open meeting is perhaps a first step in this direction.

It is still a small minority of men who have the possibility of getting together in men's groups (largely politicians towards the libertarian end of the Anarchist-WRP axis, or educated middle-class men in contact with the Women's Movement (?)). So many men suffer sex lives geared to the rhythm of the production lines. So many suffer stifling family situations and are force-fed fantasies of bronzed women coming out of Jamaican seas and can survive only through put-downs of their own and others' sexuality. The experience of men's groups can give us the strength to go out to other such men more openly than before. Hopefully that means more than having the strength to confront sexism in different situations (not always possible or fruitful). But what else it means at this time, beyond recognising that we have much more to say on sexuality in our leaflets and papers, isn't clear at the moment.



a Lifetime Growing Wiser



OUR EXAMINATION of the child in society must begin with Dr Spock's book of "Baby and Child Care". The author writes in straightforward terms to the anxious mother and advises her to relax. He takes away the demanding tone and says: "Don't be afraid to trust your own common sense...the natural loving care that kindly parents give to their children is a hundred times more valuable than making a formula expertly." Perhaps the most significant postwar development is the extension of much of this theory and practice of child care to the wider age range of childhood. Starting with the infant we have seen the development of the pre-school play-group and the community nursery. Now we are witnessing a radical questioning of the method of school as a satisfactory means of education.

The questioning of school, or the dissenting tradition, has an interesting history. A. S. Neill always objected to the "bostalization of children" in State schools and declared often that "our criterion (of libertarians) isn't learning but living". Neill, in turn, found his source of inspiration in Homer Lane, penal reformer, educationist and psychotherapist, who, according to his friend W. H. Auden was "killed in action" whilst being persecuted for managing a libertarian establishment, the Little Commonwealth. Homer Lane's simple message was that

"children should be free" and Neill followed this by providing "a free community in which they (the children) are free to be themselves". As one of Neill's ex-pupils Joshua Popenoe writes in a beautiful book "Inside Summerhill": "If everyone went to a school like Summerhill, and followed its philosophy, the world would no longer be made up of stereotyped plastic people who conform to their nation's ideals rather than their own. Their souls have been lost in the glove compartments of their annually new, annually bigger, and annually more powerful automobiles."

"Each child is the only person on the earth who knows what is best for himself, and no one has the right to act as his boss, for that will inevitably harm rather than help the child's emotional development. More and more people are coming to realise this as the truth. But unfortunately, the power is held by those who think differently, and undoubtedly a great many years will pass before a complete change is made to a natural and humane form of education."

Neill acknowledges the influence over him of the work of Wilhelm Reich. "Freud and his school," writes Neill, "with the exception of Wilhelm Reich, never believed in freedom for children." The American child psychiatrist Paul Adams even pro-

claimed "The first duty of a revolutionary is to build a society geared to children... only rarely have revolutionaries undertaken to think about a world fit for children... what men neglect, women and children embrace and enjoy. It is in this way that children and women perpetuate even in our civilisation a trend that sticks close to Eros and keeps pockets of freedom viable even in mass, capitalist society." It is these expanding pockets which are of great interest to us and the fact is that they are becoming more and more difficult to ignore.

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Anarchists tend to go back to William Godwin when discussing education, with good reason, for he is a veritable forerunner of much libertarian educational thinking today. "The true object of education, like that of every other moral process, is the generation of happiness," wrote Godwin in 1797. Like a modern de-schooling society advocate he also wrote: "Whenever government assumes to deliver us from the trouble of thinking for ourselves, the only consequences it produces are those of torpor and imbecility." Paul Goodman, a modern libertarian, echoes the same sympathies when he writes "It is for a small child, under his own steam, to poke interestingly into whatever goes on and be able, by observation, questions and practical imitation, to get something out of it in his own terms."

Between Godwin and Goodman lies the Spanish educator Francisco Ferrer, executed in 1909 for allegedly leading an insurrection in Barcelona. Ferrer founded the Modern School in 1901 in Barcelona. Of governments he said "They know, better than anyone else, that their power is based almost entirely on the school." He felt that schools had accomplished the things Godwin had warned of and he sought to break government's control over education. Another modern anarchist, Herbert Read, set great store in children's art. "Gradually we have come to realize that we have in art an instrument of education and not merely a subject to be taught... we maintain that the encouragement of a normal creative activity is one of the essentials of a full and balanced development of the personality."

Read's forbears are Ruskin "who first suggested that the child's artistic activity should be entirely voluntary" and the English psychologist James Sully "who first made any considerable study of the characteristics of voluntary activity". However it is to Froebel, with his insistence on the importance of spontaneity in all forms of education, that Read finally turns. His feeling is that "all forms of spontaneous activity have a special educative value, especially artistic activity".

We must also acknowledge a vital anthropological contribution in bringing to light varying child-rearing practices throughout the world. C.S. Ford and F.A. Beach's "Development of the Individual" examines early sexual experience of children, and the teachings of Freud and more especially Reich immediately spring to mind. The authors write: "Adults in a large number of societies take a completely tolerant and permissive attitude towards sex expression in childhood (32 examples are cited). Under such conditions youngsters engage in a certain amount of sexual play in public. The fingering of the child's own genitals follows exploratory movements of the hands which contact the various parts of the body. If adults do not attempt to discourage such behaviour, fingering the genitals becomes an established habit of occasional occurrence. As the child grows old enough to walk about and play with others, he tends to extend the range and to increase the sexual activities." The reflection of the impact of "The Little Red Schoolbook" on a horrified adult population and an interested child readership comes immediately to mind. It is also useful to remember Ford and Beach's conclusion "The degree to which such tendencies (towards sexual behaviour) find overt expression is in part a function of the rules of the society in which the individual grows up, but some expression is very likely to occur under any circumstances."

If Read emphasises artistic activity, others set great value on play. "Adventure playgrounds," writes Leila Berg, "were places where a child went voluntarily, experimented freely, where no distinction was made between play and work, where the only surveillance was that of a friendly non-dominating adult, and where parents, grandparents, big brothers and sisters, and the

lonely person who lived down the street could contribute skills, experience, knowledge and materials and where the environment was accepted." Understandably the adventure playground has been termed "a parable of anarchy". The idea seems to have started on junk heaps in Copenhagen in the 1930s and came to Britain after the war. Those working in adventure playgrounds talk of "a spontaneous lease of life" the playgrounds encourage and explain that "the place stands for far more than a mere playground. It's a place where the children have an infinite choice of opportunities. They can handle basic things - earth, water, plants, timber - and work with real tools; and they have an adult friend, a person they trust and respect." It is not unlike the environment advocated by the de-schooling society proponents. As Keith Paton writes in the engaging and excellent "The Great Brain Robbery": "The environment (for a community centre to replace the school) should be highly manipulable so that children can learn that they are in charge. Bits of old wood and cardboard, pots of paint, screens, and a wide range of the more sophisticated materials of modern architecture should be available to the children; while the basic design of the building would be capable of many varied adaptations and rearrangement... education would not merely happen in the community cultural centre. It would take place in the whole community itself."

Something along these lines is, in fact, happening with the Freightliners school in Camden for truants from the State system. This free school is supported by Camden to the tune of £20,000 per annum and their obvious desire is to keep the truants off the street. Truancy is described by some as the particularly anarchist method of applying direct action to the problem of the school; in Deptford, SE London, there are confidential figures which suggest a truancy rate of 25% in some areas and the Freightliners experiment might well find advocates within the official educational structure.

The best advocacy of the school comes from one of the children there. "I have been going to freightliners free school for 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$ years at first we had three full time teachers and about 5 part time teachers there was 2 full time teachers with the smaller kids and



one with the older kids we had two regular part time teachers on which we was doing art and the evolution of man mainly. we done geology with Roger and we went to Folkestone to collect fossils for the geology lesson. we have been to loads of places on educational trips. we have done a project on different countries but that got boring after a while so we dropped it. we went to Hazlemere and the little ones and me went camping with Pauline and Roger. it was pretty cold in the mornings but we had a really good time up there. plus I have been to the lake district with my age group this time it was really peaceful up there so we had a good time. well thats holidays but we have done projects on crime and poverty and the West Indies and Ireland - we do a lot of talking really. when we got the freightliners we all had to do it up and paint it and all that took some time. out of the three full time teachers only one stayed around because the other two had to go because of their own personal reasons. when it was all done we had some newcomers along so it wasnt just a few of us. it is now really together. the younger kids have done a lot of art work and

reading and writing. we have done a booklet about our free school."

A rather different attitude lies behind the reasons for truancy and a comparison between the Freightliners and poems by children collected by Chris Searle, who was sacked for publishing them, is enlightening.

THEM

They don't want truth
They don't want a truthful person
They must have it their way
They are the authorities
We're nothing, just students
We must do as they say
They make the rules
We are forced to obey

or more simply:

We hate the governors
Oh yes we do,
We hate the governors
Oh yes we do....

Tony, aged 13, explains,

I have my own identity
I have my own ideas
With what should be done with the world.

One is reminded of Kropotkin's advice in "A Letter to the Young": "Ask what kind of world do you want to live in. What are you good at and want to work at to build that world? What do you need to know? Demand that your teachers teach you that."

Even within the school system school-kids are demanding far more than that today. Schools Action Union, with all its sectarianism and manipulative tendencies, has a healthy list of demands:

a. SAU supports the right of all people to free speech. We will support the right of school students to freely criticise the running of the school, the actions of the head, individual teachers and students. We will oppose all attempts by the school authorities to stifle free speech and we will support all students who produce and distribute freely within the school uncensored magazines and

newspapers subject only to the laws of libel and obscenity.

b. SAU supports the right of all people to freedom of assembly. We will support the right of school students to organise meetings on school premises in school time, during breaks and after school hours without staff interference. We are opposed to staff attendance at student meetings, clubs, societies and associations without being invited by the students. We support the right of school students to form student associations run democratically in the interest of all its members.

c. SAU supports the right of all people to freedom of political activity. We support the right of school students to join a school students' union and to engage in political activity including the right to strike. We will support all school students who take collective action in defence of their interests and against any victimisations. We will also support all school students who defend themselves against physical attack.

d. SAU opposes corporal punishment and all forms of punishment imposed by the head alone and will fight for a 'code of self-discipline' to be decided by the general assembly of the students, teachers and other staff in each school.

e. SAU opposes the dictatorship of the head and will fight and commit itself to the struggle to establish day-to-day control of the school by a democratically elected schools council representing students, teachers and school staff. SAU will support all organisations working for greater democracy in education. SAU will fight to abolish all forms of streaming and selection and to end secrecy and confidential reports in schools. SAU opposes compulsory school uniforms, compulsory religious instruction and official acts of worship and compulsory physical training. SAU will fight to end the prefect system and all forms of military training in schools.

f. SAU is fighting for a fully comprehensive education system excluding all other types of schools without discrimination by class, race or sex. We are also fighting for higher education open to all, much greater

government expenditure on education, more pay for teachers, a maximum of 30 in a class, a crash programme of school building to end slum schools and schools, colleges and universities to be opened as local community centres of educational and cultural activity. We demand a job for every school leaver in his or her home town with a minimum wage of £16.50 per week or the full adult rate whichever is the higher, day release classes with no loss of pay for all young workers, and a living wage for all those wishing to continue their education beyond the school leaving age.

Although these demands are made within the State system and could be termed reformist they hardly allow Neill to maintain that "the mass of the proletariat are not educated enough to demand free schools". The important factor here is that free schools have usually been for middle-class children, simply for economic reasons. However it is very noticeable that more free schools are being developed in working-class areas with an involvement of the whole local community in the venture. In America is the example of George Dennison's "First Street School", in Britain we see the Scotland Road School in Liverpool and the Islington Free School.



The latter has now produced a useful outline of "How to Set Up a Free School" on alternative education and the law by Alison Truefitt. Alex Bloom's school at St George in the East, Stepney is a forerunner of a more formidable invasion of libertarian ideas into the State system from "above" rather than from "below". The most vital example is that of

Michael Duane and his experience at Risinghill Comprehensive in North London. Duane refused to use corporal punishment in a notoriously troublesome area but none the less reduced the delinquency of the children markedly. One wonders whether today he would have met a similar fate which resulted in the closure of Risinghill and his own departure.

Today we are met, in fact, with either radical reform of the school or an alternative educational milieu. Ivan Illich has pioneered the phrase "deschooling society" and perhaps this is most succinctly summarised by the American school dropout who asked: "Why should I go back to school and interrupt my education?" The emphatic point of the deschoolers is that they are profound educationists; they see the community centre - where children come and go as they wish - as the only educational necessity; the rest is experience of life and the following of interest. Exams go by the board in practically the entire debate as fundamentally anti-education; true education is the totality of life. We are

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always learning, every man is a teacher. As Keith Paton writes in "Children's Rights" No. 3: "Nothing less than the abolition of compulsory schooling will meet our demands as learners of all ages, together with opening society up to become safe for enquiry and creating alternative learning networks."

Paul Goodman's community of scholars brings the concepts to the University level and our experience of the students' sit-ins, their demands for control and desire for a different system are all worthy of note. Hornsey, LSE, Warwick, Sorbonne, Berkeley: all are experiences of student direct action grappling with freedom and control. As the Association of Members of Hornsey College

of Art expressed their position whilst in occupation:

TALK WITH US
Understanding is free
Understand us
We are part of one another
No more them against us
Each one is indispensable
Talking and working together
We create an education
Education means
A lifetime growing wiser
Is there anything more important?
Wisdom equals thought
Alive with feeling
What else can answer our questions?
The quiet noise of wisdom working
THAT IS REVOLUTION

FRANCO'S PRISONER BY
MIGUEL GARCIA

THE PUBLISHERS of this book have either not read it at all or not understood it. Do not be put off by their blurb at the beginning where they say, "Miguel Garcia has fought for nearly 40 years for the freedoms we take for granted - the freedom of open elections, of a free press, of a free trade union organisation..." Miguel is not so liberal about his aims!

He begins the book in 1952 at his trial $2\frac{1}{2}$ years after his arrest, and then follows through his 20 years in prison to his release. I wondered at first at the lack of explanation as to why there was a resistance, but if that were gone into fully it would be a history of Spain, not a history of imprisonment.

Due to the system and escape attempts Miguel covered several gaols in his 20 years, as he says the bad and the very bad. He uses the distinction a lot between political and criminal prisoners. In this case it is a fairly easy distinction to make although the emphasis some people put on it here and in Ireland

Or as they said it in Paris, May '68

IMAGINATION SEIZES POWER

Our final thoughts are with the editor of "Freedom" who wrote in 1959: "Because it is against everything government stands for and against the present order of society, one cannot imagine a State education system encouraging the free development of the child within a free environment, however successful it proved to be for the child."

Since 1959 many more educationists have come to agree.

Jerry Westall

is, I think, divisive. In Spain political prisoners have no privileges - except that of closer surveillance and baiting by the gaolers.

Miguel brings home that 20 years is a very long time and it is obvious that you have to believe very firmly in what you are fighting for to survive it and to come out fighting. In Miguel's case he came to England and has continued to work around Spanish political prisoners and the cause he has been fighting for for so many years.

On reading this book it brought home to me again that being one of the survivors of a revolution that fails takes a lot of guts. I think it would be well for movements to stop spending so much time and paper on our martyrs and concentrate on surviving.

The book is very easy to read which makes it available to everyone; the price however does not, £2.25. At the moment it is published by Hart-Davis in hardback but it is apparently coming out in paperback. Rip it off for May Day.

C.B.

IF I WAS AN
UNSUPPORTED
MOTHER ALL I'D
BE GETTING IS A
KICK IN THE TEETH...

